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HISTORY

OF

SOUTH AFRICA

SINCE SEPTEMBER 1795

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BY

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WITH SIXTEEN MAPS AND CHARTS

IN FIVE VOLUMES

VOL. III.

THE CAPE COLONY FROM 1846 TO 1860, NATAL FROM 1845 TO 1857, BRITISH KAFFRARIA FROM 1847 TO 1860, AND THE ORANGE RIVER SOVEREIGNTY AND THE TRANSVAAL REPUBLIC FROM 1847 TO 1854

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LONDON

SWAN SONNENSCHEIN & CO., LIM.

25 HIGH STREET, BLOOMSBURY

1908

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HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA.

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HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICA
SINCE THE BRITISH CONQUEST.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

SIR PEREGRINE MAITLAND, GOVERNOR—(*Continued*).

THE SEVENTH KAFFIR WAR, CALLED BY THE XOSAS THE WAR OF THE AXE.

On the 16th of March 1846 a Kaffir who was known by the Dutch name Kleintje, having been detected in the act of stealing an axe at Fort Beaufort, was sent from that place by Mr. Meent Borcherds, the resident justice of the peace, to be tried by the magistrate at Grahamstown. Two Hottentot offenders and a dragoon who had committed some crime accompanied him, and for security they were handcuffed in pairs. Four armed Hottentots were sent with them as a guard.

Just after the prisoners left, the chief Tola appeared at Fort Beaufort, and desired the agent-general to have Kleintje brought back and released; but his request was refused. He then sent one of his attendants to the nearest kraal with instructions that his follower was to be rescued.

From Fort Beaufort the road to Grahamstown runs for some distance along the right bank of the Kat river. The prisoners with their guard proceeded on it about seven miles, when they sat down by the river side to rest and eat some food. Suddenly about forty Kaffirs rushed from a thicket close by, and seized two of the guns which were

lying on the ground before the guard could get hold of them. One of the Hottentots, seeing a companion beneath a Kaffir, fired at the assailant and killed him on the spot. The four men of the guard then sought safety in flight, and by good fortune managed to reach a wayside inn at no great distance. The Kaffirs murdered the Hottentot to whom Kleintje was manacled, and having cut off his hand to release their friend, they started off as quickly as they appeared, taking the two guns belonging to the guard with them. The other prisoners were left unharmed.

Kleintje's crime was committed in the colony, and the murdered Hottentot was a British subject, so the matter could not be overlooked. The lieutenant-governor demanded the surrender of the rescued prisoner and the murderer of the Hottentot. Tola, their immediate head, declined to give them up, though he sent the two guns to Mr. Stretch. The old chief Botumane, of the Imidange clan, to which Tola belonged, also refused to deliver them to justice. He gave as his view of the case that the death of the Hottentot was compensated by the death of Kleintje's brother, the Kaffir who was shot, so that the matter should be allowed to drop. If the governor was grieving for the Hottentot, he said, he was grieving for his man. Sandile, with whose people the criminals were known to be, was also called upon to surrender them, and acted in the same manner as the others.

Colonel Hare was thus obliged to seek redress by force of arms. He directed the colonists near the border to be on their guard, distributed arms to those who needed them, strengthened the garrisons of the forts Peddie and Beaufort, and then prepared to send a body of troops to occupy Sandile's kraal. While these arrangements were being made, the traders and some of the missionaries in Kaffirland were plundered, and therefore considered it advisable to leave the country as fast as they could. Other missionaries placed such confidence in the people with whom they were living that they remained at their stations until an order from Colonel Hare required them to remove to the colony.

An extraordinary instance of the power of the Kaffirs to deceive was shown in the case of the reverend John Brownlee, of the London society, missionary at Jan Tshatshu's kraal. He was one of the most sensible men in South Africa, yet he actually applied for arms to be served out to Tshatshu's followers, and asserted that those people would be as useful as soldiers to the government. He had not many days to wait before he was of a very different opinion.

On the 31st of March the lieutenant-governor issued a proclamation, calling the burghers of the eastern districts to arms, his object being to establish a line of posts to protect the colony from invasion while the troops were at Sandile's kraal.

When the intelligence reached Capetown Sir Peregrine Maitland recognised at once that the crisis had arrived, for such a condition of things on the frontier could be tolerated no longer. On the 27th of March he sent the war-steamer *Thunderbolt* to Algoa Bay with all the soldiers that could be spared: eighty men of the 27th regiment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Montague Johnstone, and two field-pieces with Captain Eardley Wilmot, of the royal artillery. On the 31st he published a manifesto, in which he stated the necessity of redressing the wrongs from which the colony was suffering, and on the 1st of April he embarked at Simon's Bay in the ship-of-war *President* to proceed to the frontier.

The military force on the border at this time consisted of detachments of two battalions of the 91st and one of the 27th, mustering in all nine hundred and ninety-four effective rank and file, the 7th dragoon guards, three hundred and thirty-seven strong, four hundred Cape mounted riflemen, and a few artillerymen and engineers.

It was necessary to leave the greater number of the infantry to guard the various posts, but fifteen hundred men were got ready to take the field by calling out the Hottentots of Stockenstrom, as the settlement at the Kat river was named by a government notice on the 15th of August 1844.

Without waiting until the burghers could assemble to prevent the Kaffirs from rushing into the colony, Colonel Hare directed this force to march to Burnshill. He was an upright and amiable man, but he had neither the ability, nor the energy, nor the tact necessary for the post which he then filled. He was in ill health, and was hoping to leave for England in a few days when hostilities were forced upon him. The position of lieutenant-governor irritated him, because there was no real power attached to it, and on many points his views were at variance with those of Sir Peregrine Maitland. On this occasion he made almost incredible blunders. He greatly underrated the power of the Kaffirs, and believed that by taking possession of Sandile's kraal he would at once bring the hostile clans to submission. And so he commenced operations before a sufficient force was assembled to prevent the invasion of the colony, and with less than a month's provisions in his stores.

From Post Victoria to Sandile's kraal at Burnshill is only a good ride on horseback, a Hottentot or a Fingo can march from one place to the other on foot without resting on the way. No necessity therefore existed for encumbering a column with a great quantity of baggage or provisions, when a secure base of supplies was so close at hand. Waggons were not needed to form a lager, for no one had the slightest fear of Xosas attacking a strong body of troops except in an ambush.

Yet no fewer than one hundred and twenty-five waggons, conveying baggage of all kinds, provisions, and ammunition, accompanied the force. In place of making a sudden dash, which alone could succeed, notice of what was about to be attempted was given to all Kaffirland by the collection of such a number of vehicles at Post Victoria. One hundred and twenty-five waggons, each drawn by fourteen oxen, form a line at least three miles in length, for in a broken bushy country, without bridges or proper roads, such as that between Post Victoria and Burnshill in 1846, they could only proceed one after another.

The force was composed of three divisions, which were to march from different points and unite at Burnshill. Colonel Henry Somerset, of the Cape mounted rifles, was then to assume the chief command. On the 11th of April 1846 Colonel Somerset marched from Post Victoria with his own regiment and four companies of the 91st; Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Richardson marched from Fort Peddie with the 7th dragoon guards, and Captain William Sutton, of the Cape mounted rifles, from Eland's post at the Kat river with the Hottentot levies.

On the 15th the columns united at Burnshill and formed a camp. The country they marched through appeared quite deserted, as was also Sandile's kraal when they reached it, the whole of the Gaika and Imidange clans having retired to the forests of the Amatola. On the 16th Colonel Somerset moved against Sandile, leaving Major John Hope Gibsone, of the 7th dragoons, in charge of the camp. As soon as the troops got into the bushy defiles the Xosas appeared in great numbers. Some sharp skirmishing took place, but one division managed to capture eighteen hundred head of cattle, after which the soldiers and Hottentots kindled huge fires and rested by their arms for the night. Meantime the camp was attacked, but the assailants were beaten off.

At daybreak on the 17th Colonel Somerset, believing that the whole of the hostile Kaffirs were on his front, sent an order to Major Gibsone to break up the camp at Burnshill and join him. At half past ten o'clock the first waggons began to move off. The train was so long that only an advance and rear guard could be provided, and the soldiers employed on this duty were chiefly dragoons, who were almost useless in such a country.

When passing through a narrow gorge one of the central waggons stuck fast, and all behind were brought to a stand. In a moment a horde of Gaikas rushed down from a bushy height and cut the oxen loose, there being no one but the drivers and leaders to resist them. The dragoons in the rear

were unable even to get near the place, and thus between eight and nine hundred oxen and sixty-one waggons laden with baggage and stores fell into the hands of the Kaffirs. Those laden with ammunition were the last in the train, and they also must have been lost if the drivers and leaders of the others had not hurried back to defend them. While the Kaffirs were engaged in the pillage of the stores Major Gibsone retreated to Burnshill with the ammunition, and was shortly afterwards joined by a company of the 91st under Major Campbell, who had been sent to meet the train, but arrived too late.

The waggons that were in front of the one which stuck in the gorge reached their destination in safety, and by making a detour Major Gibsone was able to join the main party some hours later with what was left of the camp. Colonel Somerset now resolved to retreat, as he felt certain that the Kaffirs, elated with their success, would pour into the defenceless colony. The column was followed closely by the exulting Xosas, but on the next day succeeded in reaching Blockdrift on the Tyumie without further disaster. A large stone building belonging to the Lovedale mission was taken possession of there, and was converted into a temporary barrack and fort.

In this disastrous expedition Captain Bambrick, of the 7th dragoon guards, a young colonist named M'Cormick, ten men of the 91st, one Hottentot from the Kat river, and four Cape mounted riflemen were killed, fourteen soldiers were severely wounded, and a number of others were more or less hurt. The eighteen hundred captured cattle were brought out, but their value was a trifle compared with what was lost.

The Gaikas and their allies now rushed into the colony, and commenced to drive off the cattle and to burn the buildings and cornstacks. The country people had assembled in little parties for mutual protection, and were not taken by surprise as in the last war, so that very few were murdered. Nearly all the camps were attacked, but none were

overpowered, though several—including the village of Riebeek East—were afterwards abandoned. From the pastures close to the military posts the raiders drove off the commissariat cattle, and taunted the soldiers with challenges to come out.

The colonists who lost their lives in this raid were twelve in number: Messrs. Joshua Norden, Christiaan Nel, Elias Nel, J. Murray, R. Webb, C. Brass, P. van der Westhuizen, Towell, Clark, Kromhout, Middleton, and Skirrow. Mr. Norden, a leading member of the Jewish congregation, was captain of the Grahamstown yeomanry corps, and was killed while leading a patrol. A young man named Pike, who was in charge of some transport waggons, and who was murdered by Kaffirs near Botha's Hill, is included in the list of victims of the raid by several writers of the time, but he lost his life on the 11th of April, some days before the great body of the Kaffirs entered the colony. Captain Sandes, of the Cape mounted riflemen, and five or six soldiers were also killed. The bodies of all those who fell into the hands of the Kaffirs were horribly mutilated.

The loss of property was immense, and the government, in addition to a war, now had to provide for several thousand destitute people.

For either contingency the authorities were utterly unprepared. The country was parched by a long drought, so that transport was exceedingly difficult, and there were no supplies of food either for men or horses in the frontier posts. Those posts, situated along the Fish river, proved—as Sir Peregrine Maitland wrote—of no more use to prevent an invasion of the colony than the piers of a bridge to prevent the rush of a swollen torrent through its arches.

It was supposed at first that only the Imidange and Gaika clans were hostile, but very shortly nearly the whole Xosa tribe was in arms against the Europeans. On the 1st of April 1846 the old chief Eno, of the Amambala clan, died, after enjoining his sons Stokwe and Sonto on his deathbed not to go to war with the white people. They

pledged their word to Captain Maclean that they would observe their father's last wishes, and within six weeks sent their followers into the colony to plunder and lay waste. Umhala made a promise to keep the peace, and observed it in the same way as Stokwe and Sonto. Pato, Kobe, Siwani, Siyolo, and Nonibe acted in like manner. The Galekas of Kreli as in the preceding war professed to be neutral, but really aided the Rarabe clans to the full extent of their power.

The only Xosas who took no part against the colony were a few families from mission stations, the small clan under the captain Kama, the captain Umkayi and his family, and the followers of a man named Hermanus, who had been some years in the service of the government as an interpreter and who had recently collected some people together on a tract of land close to Fort Brown. One name more must be added, that of a youth who accompanied the reverend William Govan to Scotland after the Tyumie mission station was destroyed by his countrymen, and who in later years returned to South Africa as the reverend Tiyo Soga, an earnest, enlightened, zealous, and self-denying Christian missionary, such a man as any nation in the world might be proud of. Kama had embraced Christianity, and he and his followers fought on the colonial side, not indeed against their tribesmen, but against the emigrant Tembus. Umkayi's followers were among the most active enemies of the colony, but the captain himself and his family, thirty-one individuals in all, claimed the protection of the troops at Fort Peddie. In July these persons were sent to Grahamstown, where they were afterwards maintained at the expense of the government. Umkayi's character was utterly worthless. He was strongly suspected of being a spy, but if he really tried to act as one his abilities were not equal to the task.

Of the Tembu tribe, that section which was under the chief Umtirara professed to be neutral, but some of them aided Mapasa's people in ravaging the districts of Somerset and Cradock, and the chief himself was strongly suspected

of acting deceitfully. Owing to the extent to which he had been plundered by the Pondos and the Bacas, he had long since abandoned the lower part of the territory between the Bashee and the Umtata, and was now living on the Zwart Kei, though some of his people were still to be found as far east as Clarkebury. The feud between this chief and Kreli was so strong that their followers could not act together, and Umtirara, though very willing to secrete cattle driven from the colony, was ready at any moment to join a European force against his neighbour. The clans known as the emigrant Tembus were all in arms against the white people. Umtirara was only in name their paramount chief, for they were quite independent of his authority.

The Fingos were bitter enemies of the Xosas, and consequently fought on the side of the Europeans. A few of their old men, women, and children who fell into Pato's hands at the beginning of the war were burned to death, and thereafter neither Fingo nor Xosa showed mercy to an opponent.

The strongest garrison on the frontier was that of Fort Peddie, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Martin Lindsay, of the first battalion of the 91st. This officer was not held in much esteem either in military circles or by the colonists, and he certainly did nothing that would entitle him to regard. Great herds of cattle driven from the colony passed almost in sight of Fort Peddie towards Kreli's country, without any effort on his part to save them.

On the 30th of April about a thousand Kaffir warriors attacked the Fingos at the Beka mission station, about four miles from Fort Peddie. At twelve o'clock the request of the Fingos for aid reached Colonel Lindsay, and two hours later Lieutenant-Colonel Richardson, with a squadron of dragoons, some Cape mounted riflemen, fifty men of the 91st, and two guns, went to their assistance. On arriving in sight of the Beka station, it was observed that the Fingos were still holding their own. Yet, after firing a few shots from his field-pieces without the slightest effect, Colonel Richardson returned to the fort. The mission station was

set on fire under his eyes, and with two hundred British soldiers he abandoned the field, leaving the Fingos to their fate. He afterwards gave as reasons that it was late in the afternoon, that his horses were jaded, that the ground was not adapted for a charge of the dragoons, and that his retreat was only a feint to draw the Kaffirs after him.

The Fingos succeeded in beating the enemy back, but the bad effect of the military movement of that day was greater even than that of the loss of the waggons at Burnshill. It inspired the Kaffirs with confidence in their strength, and diminished their fear of the soldiers, so that those who were wavering before now joined the war party.

On the 16th of April Sir Peregrine Maitland arrived at Post Victoria, and two days later heard of the disaster at Burnshill. Then came tidings of the destructive rush of the Kaffirs over the border. On the 22nd he proclaimed the whole colony under martial law, and called out the entire burgher force. Still he did not interfere with Colonel Hare's control of field operations until the 1st of May, when a rumour of what had occurred at Peddie reached him. He then assumed the chief command.

Before leaving Capetown he gave instructions that if any troops should happen to call they were to be detained and sent to the frontier with all possible speed. On the 3rd of April the transport *Mariner*, from Colombo bound to Portsmouth, put into Simon's Bay for refreshment. She had on board nine officers and two hundred and eighty-three rank and file of the 90th regiment, who were immediately forwarded to the front. Every effective soldier was sent up from Capetown, a volunteer guard taking their place at the castle and forts.

On the 2nd of May, at the request of a number of colonists, the governor appointed Sir Andries Stockenstrom commandant-general of the burgher forces of the eastern districts, with the rank of a colonel on the staff. The colonists desired that the entire burgher force of the country should be placed under his command, but the governor

chose to limit his authority to the eastern province, and a few days later to exclude from it the men of Lower Albany and Uitenhage. There could no longer be any discussion concerning the merits or demerits of the Glenelg policy towards the Kaffirs which he had carried out, any more than there could be a discussion about the strength or weakness of a wall which has tumbled down and lies in ruins. He was full of energy, anxious to recover that place in the affections of his countrymen which he had lost for a time, and it was believed that he knew perfectly well what was to be done and how to do it. A declaration which he made, that in his opinion the Xosas should be expelled for ever from the fastnesses of the Amatola, and that British authority ought to be extended to the Kei, was received as an indication that he had abandoned all defence of his conduct as lieutenant-governor. His staunchest opponents in 1837 and 1838 were now the foremost to express confidence in him as a leader of irregular forces in war. They did not fear that his disposition, which made it impossible for him to work cordially with an equal in power, would affect his usefulness as commandant-general, subject only to the governor.

While Sir Andries Stockenstrom was engaged in organising burgher forces, collecting supplies of food, and clearing the country north of the Winterberg of invaders, Colonel Somerset with the Cape corps was busy following up the Kaffirs in Albany and Uitenhage, relieving little parties in lager, and endeavouring to preserve property. The mission station Theopolis, as well as other places, was saved from destruction by his exertions. Early in May he routed some considerable bodies of Xosas in the valley of the Kowie, and he then proceeded to scour the country about Olifant's Hoek. He succeeded so well that by the close of the month nearly all the invaders had left the colony.

Beyond the border it had been considered necessary to abandon Post Victoria, but the Lovedale mission premises at Blockdrift were occupied as a fort, and a strong military

force was encamped there under canvas. This was the only position held by white men in the Xosa country. Every other mission station and every trading post had been destroyed. From the Galeka country the diplomatic agent and the missionary with their families fled first to Clarkebury, and finding that station insecure, went next to Buntingville in Pondoland, where they arrived on the 19th of May.

One of the greatest difficulties which the government had to meet was to provide food and clothing for those who had lost all their property. Sir Peregrine Maitland adopted the plan of Sir Benjamin D'Urban, and on the 8th of May appointed a board of relief in Grahamstown, with corresponding branches in other places. The central board consisted of the reverend Messrs. John Heavyside, William Shaw, and John Locke, together with Messrs. A. B. Morgan, T. Nelson, C. Lucas, and H. B. Rutherfoord, leading men in the place. All applications for relief were made to the central board either by individuals or by the corresponding branches, and it had power to draw upon the commissariat for the necessaries of life. From private subscriptions a sum of £1,928 was received during the war, and was used to meet cases of distress that could not be relieved from the commissariat stores. By the 1st of August there were nearly eight thousand individuals drawing rations through the board of relief, over four thousand of whom were Hottentots and other coloured people of Stockenstrom. This settlement, instead of being a defence to the frontier, as its founders once fondly imagined it would become, was in some respects the weakest point in the whole line.

Supplies of all kinds being needed at Fort Peddie, on the 18th of May a train of forty-three waggons left Grahamstown, with a small escort consisting partly of soldiers and partly of burghers. There was a military post at Trompetter's drift, on the right bank of the Fish river, and it was arranged that a body of troops from Fort Peddie should meet the train somewhere in that neighbourhood to protect

it while passing through the jungle. Accordingly on the 21st the waggons moved on from a little stream about three miles beyond the post, with an advance guard under Lieutenant E. J. Dickson, of the 91st, and a rear guard under Captain Colin Campbell, of the same regiment. Altogether the escort now consisted of forty burghers and eighty soldiers.

In the thickest part of the jungle the oxen of the foremost waggons were shot down by concealed Kaffirs, and with hardly any exertion the whole train fell into their hands. The escort retreated to the post at Trompetter's drift, leaving two colonists named Davis and Bower with a Hottentot and a Fingo dead on the ground. The Kaffirs plundered the stores and drove off the oxen, after setting fire to the waggons.

This success so elated them that they aspired to get possession of Fort Peddie, which was a mere earthen embankment surrounded by a dry ditch, and might be taken by a rush. But it was on an open height between two branches of a streamlet that falls into the Fish river, and from a watchtower there was an extensive view, so that it could not be surprised. Besides, both the infantry and cavalry barracks were strong buildings, with high loop-holed walls, practically impregnable to Kaffirs.

On the 27th of May a large body of warriors appeared in the neighbourhood, when some troops went out and skirmished with them, but neither party gained any advantage. This movement of the enemy was a mere feint. Fortunately, a Fingo overheard a remark of one of the Kaffir leaders which betrayed the real object, and he at once made Captain Maclean acquainted with it.

At half past ten on the following morning a considerable force again appeared in sight, with the design of drawing the garrison out, but as the object was known the troops were kept within the walls. Shortly afterwards a great horde came over a hill, with the intention of rushing upon the fort while the soldiers were absent from it. The Fingos of the neighbouring location had placed their wives

and children in the ditch, and had driven their cattle under the guns.

At noon some eight thousand warriors were in sight, but they were disconcerted by the failure of their stratagem, and only a few ventured within reach of the cannon balls. They got possession of a trader's store on the outskirts of the place, however, and pillaged it. The cattle, being frightened, now broke loose, and the Kaffirs succeeded in driving off four or five thousand head, though the Fingos fought gallantly to save them. For two full hours the Kaffirs remained in sight of the fort, but did not venture to attempt to take it by storm. In the afternoon they retired, having lost in killed some twenty to thirty men. Of the Fingos two were killed and three were wounded. Of the garrison none were hurt.

In this attempt to get possession of Fort Peddie the Tinde captain Jan Tshatshu took part. After his return from England with the reverend Dr. Philip he was puffed up with pride and self-importance, and as he had acquired a fondness for strong drink, his career thenceforward was most unsatisfactory. For ten or twelve days after the commencement of the war he remained with Mr. Stretch, and professed to be a firm friend of the Europeans, while in fact he was a spy. His defection was of little importance in a military point of view, as his clan was small, but it tended greatly to discourage those who were anxious for the civilisation of his countrymen.

To get supplies to Fort Peddie was now the first object of Sir Peregrine Maitland. A train of eighty-two waggons was laden, and all the forces, regular and irregular, that could be detached from garrison duty were placed under Colonel Somerset's command to act as an escort. They exceeded twelve hundred men. On the 31st of May the train passed the Fish river at Committee's drift, and in the jungle beyond was attacked by the Kaffirs. Three drivers were killed, and six were wounded, but the enemy was beaten back, and the train reached its destination in safety.

During the night of the 7th of June a strong party was sent from Fort Peddie to attack the kraal of the chief Stokwe near the Gwanga rivulet, and thereby to occupy the attention of the Kaffirs while the empty waggons with an escort of two hundred and fifty men passed through the jungle at Trompetter's drift on the way to Grahamstown. The party consisted of three hundred Hottentots under Captain Size, one hundred Fingos under Captain Symons, and a party of the same people under one of their own chiefs. At six o'clock in the morning of the 8th Colonel Somerset followed with one hundred Cape mounted riflemen under Captain Napier, a troop of dragoons under Captain Sir Harry Darrell, a troop of volunteer cavalry under Captain Lucas, one hundred of the George burghers under Commandant Muller, and two guns under Captain Brown of the royal artillery.

At half past seven the two divisions united and had a smart engagement with a body of Kaffirs, who were defeated with some loss, when Stokwe's kraal was taken and burned. A little after midday, as the enemy had retired, Colonel Somerset resolved to proceed with the cavalry to the Gwanga in order to rest the horses, which were showing signs of fatigue. There was only a little rise in the ground between the place where he then was and that where he proposed to rest. Just before reaching the top of this rise, Lieutenant Bisset, who was mounted on an unruly horse that carried him far to the front, galloped back and reported to Colonel Somerset that a body of five or six hundred Kaffirs was just beyond, in an open country where cavalry could act to advantage.

With a loud hurrah, the whole body rushed forward, dashing right in among the Kaffirs, and cutting them down. They tried to escape to a jungle five or six miles away, and some of them succeeded in reaching it, as most of the troopers' horses were too fagged to keep up the chase. A few saved their lives by lying flat on the ground and pretending to be dead. But over two hundred bodies were counted next

morning, and almost as many more perished of wounds received that day. On the European side one Cape mounted rifleman and one Fingo were killed, and sixteen men were wounded. A hundred guns and over a thousand assagais were picked up on the field of slaughter.

Two prisoners were taken, who informed Colonel Somerset that the Kaffirs were of the clans of Umhala and Siyolo, and were on the way to Trompetter's drift to establish themselves in the jungle so as to cut off communication between Fort Peddie and Grahamstown.

It was against all rules of Kaffir warfare for a large body of warriors to cross an open country in daylight, but their successes had led them to disregard ordinary customs. They never did so again, for they learned a lesson at the Gwanga that needed no repetition.

By the end of June there was in the field a force surpassing in strength any army that had ever before been assembled on the frontier. The returns of the regular troops showed that there were then in South Africa three thousand eight hundred and forty-nine officers and men, of whom five hundred and twenty-six were in Natal, sixty-eight in Capetown, forty-eight in Port Elizabeth, and the remainder on the border. These last consisted of the 7th dragoon guards, three hundred and twenty-five all told; one hundred and fourteen officers and men of the royal artillery; one hundred and fifty-five officers and men of the royal engineers; two battalions of the 91st regiment of the line, together nine hundred and eighty-three all told; the 27th regiment of the line, four hundred and sixteen officers and men; one hundred and fifty-one officers and men of the first battalion of the 45th; the 90th regiment of the line—the remainder of which arrived at Port Elizabeth in the barque *Maria Somes* on the 8th of July, and was detained by order of the governor — four hundred and thirty-nine strong; and the Cape corps—to which two provisional companies had been attached—six hundred and twenty-four officers and men.

Of irregular forces there were five thousand five hundred and sixty-four burghers and volunteers on the frontier, in addition to two thousand nine hundred and forty-four in Uitenhage and Lower Albany not actually in the field, but ready if necessary to form a second line of defence under Major-General Cuyler, having been withdrawn from Sir Andries Stockenstrom's command for that purpose. There were eight hundred half-breeds and Hottentots serving without pay, under Captain Sutton and Commandant Groepe, and two hundred and sixty-four European officers with four thousand and forty-nine paid Malays, Fingos, Hottentots, and liberated slaves.

The government had thus to provide food on the frontier for thirteen thousand eight hundred and eighty-four fighting men, in addition to a host of waggon drivers and leaders and some eight thousand individuals who had been reduced to destitution by the inroad of the Kaffirs.

The eastern districts and the Kaffir country were at the time suffering from prolonged drought, so that transport on a large scale was next to impossible. Fortunately, it was ascertained that stores could be landed at an indentation on the coast about a mile east of the mouth of the Fish river, though the holding ground was not good and a heavy swell often set on the shore. Fort Peddie was distant only twenty-two miles, and the road was easy for cattle and unobstructed by jungle. Early in July the first cargo of supplies was landed from the schooner *Waterloo*, of one hundred and fifty-eight tons burden, belonging to Captain Salmond, and thereafter the indentation was known as Waterloo Bay.

On the western side of the mouth of the Fish river a fort was built, which was named Dacres after the admiral on the station. It was first occupied by the marines and a number of sailors from the ship-of-war *President*. A raft was placed upon the river, so that communication with Fort Peddie and the camp at Waterloo Bay was now open from

Grahamstown, without the necessity of passing through the extensive jungle at the fords higher up.

A line of defence having been formed to protect the colony, active operations were commenced against the enemy. On the 13th of June Sir Peregrine Maitland left Grahamstown, and established his headquarters at Waterloo Bay. Exclusive of the burghers under Sir Andries Stockenstrom, the army of operations was formed in two divisions, the first or left under Colonel Hare, the second or right under Colonel Somerset. The commander-in-chief was with the last division. Colonel Hare was at Blockdrift.

An attack upon the Kaffirs in the Amatola fastnesses having been resolved upon, the second division moved from Waterloo Bay, and formed a camp on the site of the long abandoned fort Beresford, in the upper valley of the Buffalo river. There Sir Peregrine Maitland remained, while Colonel Somerset with eight hundred and eighty cavalry and seven hundred and sixty infantry went in pursuit of Pato, who had gone eastward with a great number of cattle swept off from the colony. The march was a very difficult one, owing to the grass having been burned by the Kaffirs, and the horses of the Cape corps and of the Swellendam and George burghers, under Commandants Linde and Muller, became so exhausted that many of them had to be shot. The infantry was composed of Hottentots under Captain Size and Fingos under Mr. William Shepstone, who could traverse the country even more expeditiously than cavalry.

On the 21st of July the infantry crossed the Kei, and that evening and the following morning divisions returned with about five thousand head of cattle recovered from Pato's followers. Colonel Somerset then hastened back to save his horses, and leaving the greater part of the patrol at Fort Beresford, with the remainder he formed a camp on the Gwanga. His loss during the expedition was one Fingo killed and a European and a Fingo wounded.

The plan of attack upon the Kaffirs in the Amatola was that the second division of the army, with its centre at

Fort Beresford and its wings spread out in a curve, should block up every outlet to the eastward. The remainder of the available force was then to press them from the remaining sides, when it was supposed that they could not escape.

On the 29th of July two strong divisions commenced to scour the country along the range. One of them, led by Sir Andries Stockenstrom, consisted of the burghers of Somerset, Cradock, Graaff-Reinet, Colesberg, and Beaufort, and the Hottentots of the Kat river. Starting from the upper Tyumie valley, a body of cavalry ascended to the Bontebok flats and spread out to the eastward to prevent the escape of the enemy, while the infantry crossed the steep ridge along which the Hogsback road now runs, and plunged into the ravines and forests beyond. The commandant-general, who allowed himself no comfort or convenience that his humblest follower did not share, inspired the whole division with his courage and energy.

At the same time Colonel Hare with a strong body of regular troops, Fingos, and Hottentot levies, moved from Blockdrift along the lower margin of the same belt of country, scouring the ravines and thickets before him.

The forces of a civilised nation could not have escaped from such a series of attacks, and must either have beaten back their assailants or been destroyed. It was not so with the Kaffirs. They had such a perfect system of scouting that they knew every movement made against them, their scanty stores of grain were concealed in underground pits, they used no baggage, and a temporary supply of food could be driven about with them. They had no intention of exposing themselves to loss of life in action when they knew they must be defeated, and so they moved away through an open space which by unaccountable neglect of Colonel Hare was left beween the extremities of his right wing and Colonel Somerset's left.

By neither division, therefore, were the Kaffirs met in any force. Here and there small bodies were encountered

in almost impregnable positions, but they made a very feeble resistance, and were easily dislodged. From prisoners and from women who were met, information was obtained that the main body of the warriors with the cattle had escaped. To pursue them was impossible, as the horses were too weak, and thus the operations, which were conducted with an enormous amount of fatigue and discomfort, ended in failure. The loss on the European side was ten men killed and seven wounded. No cattle were recovered, nor could anything be devised to prevent the Kaffirs returning to the fastnesses, except the occupation of the site of Fort Cox.

After a few days' consideration of what was next to be done, Sir Peregrine Maitland resolved to send a flying column against Kreli to endeavour to obtain satisfaction for the injuries which that chief had inflicted upon the colony and security for his future good behaviour. The column was in two divisions, respectively under Sir Andries Stockenstrom and Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone. It consisted in all of two thousand five hundred men, chiefly burghers, as Colonel Johnstone's division was partly composed of men of the Cape, Worcester, and Swellendam districts, under the commandants Eksteen, Du Toit, and Linde. Colonel Hare remained at Fort Cox, Colonel Somerset at the camp on the Gwanga, and the governor at Fort Beresford.

On the 14th of August, while the expedition was on the march, it was met by a messenger from Kreli, who sent to ask why he was to be attacked, as he was at peace with the white people, and as the cattle driven from the colony by the Rarabes were not in his country but in the territory occupied by the Tembus. The messenger was sent back to say that Sir Andries Stockenstrom would speak to Kreli and hear his statements at his kraal. The column continued its march, and met with no opposition on the way, the only mishap being that a number of horses broke down.

Upon the approach of the column Kreli abandoned his kraal and hid himself on a mountain, but left some of his

councillors behind, who met the head of the force with a white flag. After a little discussion the councillors conducted Sir Andries Stockenstrom and his interpreter, Mr. Charles Brownlee, to the chief's retreat, but no other white men were permitted to accompany them, though the chief had a strong body-guard. Two or three hours later, however, Kreli consented to ten more joining them. The conference took place on the 21st of August. There were present towards its close, in addition to the two Europeans named, Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone, the commandants Gideon Joubert, of Colesberg, Andries du Toit, of Worcester, John C. Molteno, of Beaufort West, W. Dodds Pringle, of Somerset East, and Christiaan Groepe, of the Kat river, Captain Vereker, of the 27th regiment, and Messrs. Richard Paver, Henry Hutton, and Joseph Read.

On behalf of the British government Sir Andries demanded from Kreli satisfaction on four points:—

1. On his having permitted the border clans under his control as their paramount chief to make war upon the colony.

2. On his having imprisoned the agent appointed by the governor to reside in his country, and having put him as well as several missionaries in fear of their lives by burning their houses and destroying their properties.

3. On having joined in the war himself, inasmuch as his warriors fought against British troops.

4. On having admitted into his territory the cattle driven from the colony.

Kreli's reply to each of these charges was:—

1. Did the British government make treaties with the border chiefs, and if so, how could he be held responsible for their acts?

2. When there was a cry for war he told Fynn for the sake of safety not to move beyond a certain distance, but Fynn and the missionaries were frightened and fled. He had not ceased sending friendly messages inviting them to return.

3. He ordered his followers to keep peace, and when he found out that one of his captains had taken part against the colonial government, he caused that disobedient one to be punished.

4. He denied having admitted cattle from the colony into his territory.

Sir Andries then offered to accept these explanations if Kreli would consent to the following terms:—

1. To be responsible to the British government for the acts of the Gaikas and other border clans as their paramount chief, provided he should be acknowledged as such by the white people.

2. To compensate Mr. Fynn and the other British subjects in full for all their property taken or destroyed, to solicit their return, and to protect them in their persons and property.

3. To restore all cattle taken from the colony that he could find in his territory, or that could be proved to be there.

4. To acknowledge the right of the British government to all the land west of the Kei.

To these conditions Kreli at once agreed.

When the conference was over the army retired, having obtained nothing but the utterly valueless promises of the chief. As afterwards ascertained, there were then many thousands of cattle taken from the colonists in charge of his retainers on the Bashee, and there was visible proof that sheep must have been driven into his territory, for wool torn from them was still sticking in the mimosas.

When returning, the army attacked Mapasa on the Zwart Kei, and took from him between six and seven thousand head of horned cattle.

On the 16th of August, shortly after Sir Andries Stockenstrom and Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone left Fort Beresford to proceed to Kreli's country, Captain William Hogg, of the 7th dragoon guards, was sent from Fort Cox with the Hottentots of the western province and some Fingos, one

thousand in all, to attack Mapasa. He succeeded in capturing four thousand head of cattle, many of them with colonial brandmarks.

This expedition gave great offence to Sir Andries Stockenstrom, who even went so far as to assert that it was designed and carried out purposely to thwart him. His grievance was that he regarded its field of operations as peculiarly his own, and could brook no rival in it. He had asked that some of the Hottentots who went with Captain Hogg should be attached to his command, but had met with a refusal, though without being informed that it was in contemplation to send them against Mapasa. He asserted also that Captain Hogg interfered with some burgher and Hottentot posts stationed by him on the emigrant Tembu border, and that the expedition had been mismanaged in many ways. This event led to much unpleasantness, which was greatly increased by a dispute between Sir Andries and Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone as to certain circumstances which occurred during the conference with Kreli.

It is needless to enter fully into the nature of the dispute, though it caused a great deal of correspondence, which Sir Peregrine Maitland justly characterised as contentious and acrimonious on the part of Sir Andries. After a short time the governor himself became involved in it, as he held the same opinions as Colonel Johnstone, that Kreli was insincere, while Sir Andries maintained the reverse. Then there arose a question as to the object of the expedition across the Kei. The governor asserted that it was to obtain satisfaction for injuries and security for the future, and that he could not view it as having accomplished much more than "bringing back some barren words from a crafty chief, whose whole bearing belied his sincerity." At the same time he acknowledged that it could not have accomplished more than it did, owing to the condition of the horses.

Sir Andries Stockenstrom, on the contrary, maintained that there was a clear understanding before he left Fort Beresford that it was sent to produce a good moral effect,

by proving to Kreli that a colonial force could enter his territory under the most unfavourable circumstances. He asserted that this had been accomplished, and that the terms agreed to gave the government a distinct advantage, because if Kreli did not observe them he could be attacked with justice, whereas it would not have been just to attack him before. He questioned the accuracy of the governor's statements and the correctness of Colonel Johnstone's testimony, and accused Colonel Somerset and Captain Hogg of being animated with vindictive feelings towards him. At length, on the 25th of November he tendered the resignation of his office as commandant-general, owing to want of confidence on both sides, and on the 27th the governor replied, relieving him of his duties.

There was at this time, unfortunately, a strong feeling of dislike between a very large section of the burghers and an equally large proportion of the regular forces. The burghers asserted that they were required to perform all the most difficult and dangerous duties, and were half starved in the field, while the regular troops were fully rationed. Sir Andries Stockenstrom had taken care to collect an ample supply of provisions for the men under his command, and their condition was contrasted with that of the burghers attached to Colonel Hare's division, greatly to the disadvantage of the latter. The real cause was that the commissariat department was unequal to the strain upon it, and the queen's forces were regarded as having the first claim. Then several of the military officers acted in such a manner as to incur the hatred of the colonists. Chief among these was Lieutenant-Colonel Lindsay, who was in command at Fort Peddie. Among other arbitrary acts of this officer, on the 26th of May he caused a waggon driver named John Smith to be tied up and severely flogged without trial, for refusing to collect fuel for the garrison. It was not an uncommon circumstance for soldiers and burghers to make most taunting remarks to and of each other. Thus Sir Andries Stockenstrom's quarrel with

military officers did not tend to make him less popular with the colonists, though the governor was highly esteemed, and both Colonel Somerset and Colonel Johnstone were personally well liked.

Sir Peregrine Maitland refused to ratify the convention with Kreli, and sent him word that the cattle driven from the colony into his territory must be restored as a preliminary to any negotiations for peace. This was something that the chief could not make up his mind to do, and so he continued to be regarded as an enemy.

After the return of the expedition from his country it was impossible to keep a large force in the field, as the horses were dying of hunger and the men were suffering from scarcity of food, so the governor retired with the second division of the army to a camp at Waterloo Bay, and on the 16th of September issued a general order thanking the burghers for their services and allowing them to return to their homes. They dispersed at once, and made their way on foot, or as best they could, to their respective districts.

Colonel Hare was broken down in health, so he was permitted to leave for England. Part of the first division of the army joined Sir Peregrine Maitland at Waterloo Bay, and the other part was placed under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone, who was directed to occupy the posts at Lovedale and Fort Cox, and to patrol the country between Fort Cox and Fort Beaufort.

The office of lieutenant-governor was left without an occupant until the arrival of Sir Henry Young, as related in a previous chapter. Sir Peregrine Maitland recommended that it should be abolished, as from the beginning of 1846 there were two posts weekly from Capetown to the frontier, so that it did not seem to him to be needed.

A despatch announcing that Colonel Hare was promoted to be a major-general was on the way from England when he retired. He never saw it, for he died at sea four days after leaving South Africa. His body was taken to St. Helena and buried there.

The force on the frontier remained paralysed for a time through want of food at a distance from Waterloo Bay and the absence of sufficient means of transport. The government had pressed all the waggons and oxen that could be found, and the consequence was that people were afraid to take provisions to the markets at Grahamstown or Fort Beaufort. The drought continued until September, and the commonest necessaries of life reached prices never known before. It was only by keeping the great mass of the troops on the coast that actual starvation was averted.

So matters remained until October, when grass sprang up, making it possible to convey supplies overland. Deputy-Commissary-General Palmer, a very active and capable man, was then placed in charge of the transport service, and speedily put matters right. Light waggons with mules to draw them were brought by sea from Capetown to Port Elizabeth. The system of impressment was discontinued, and an offer of £2 a day was made for every bullock waggon and span of fourteen oxen fit for service. By these means a sufficient number of conveyances was obtained.

On the 5th of October a disaster took place in the wreck of the barque *Catherine* at Waterloo Bay, and the loss of a full cargo of provisions with which she had just arrived.

By this time the troops in the country were largely reinforced. When the war commenced, two battalions of the line which were intended to relieve regiments in South Africa were at Monte Video, and they were hurried on as soon as the intelligence reached that place. On the 30th of July the ship-of-war *Resistance* arrived in Simon's Bay with the second battalion of the 45th, five hundred and twenty-five officers and men, and on the 11th of August the ship-of-war *Apollo* brought to the same place the 73rd regiment, five hundred and thirty-eight all told. On the 26th of the same month the *Cornwall* arrived from Cork with ninety-seven recruits for regiments already here, so that over eleven hundred effective men were added to the army under Sir Peregrine Maitland.

Further reinforcements were on the way out. On the 29th of June 1846 Sir Robert Peel's ministry resigned, and a new cabinet was thereupon formed by Lord John Russell. In it Earl Grey was secretary of state for the colonies, succeeding Mr. Gladstone on the 7th of July. On the 3rd of August he wrote to Sir Peregrine Maitland that more troops would at once be sent out, and a number of half-pay officers—the lieutenant-colonels George Henry Mackinnon, George Green Nicholls, Edward H. D. E. Napier, and Auchmuty Montresor, and three majors—had been selected to proceed to the Cape for service in irregular forces. So little was known in England of the conditions of warfare in this country that these officers really believed they could be of service in organising burgher forces, and were half indignant when the governor—to whom they were a great embarrassment—got rid of them by giving them supernumerary appointments.

On the 28th of October nine officers and two hundred and eighty-five rank and file of the first battalion of the rifle brigade arrived in Table Bay in the barque *Fairlie* from Gibraltar. On the following day the ship *Stebronheath* arrived from Cork with thirteen officers and four hundred rank and file of the 6th. On the 5th of November the barque *Westminster* reached Table Bay from Cork with the remainder of the 6th, nine officers and two hundred and two rank and file. And on the same day the ship *Equestrian* arrived from Gibraltar with the remainder of the first battalion of the rifle brigade, ten officers and three hundred and twenty-eight rank and file.

Since the first great raid little bands of Kaffirs had frequently entered the districts of Albany and Somerset, where they could conceal themselves in thickets and watch for opportunities to murder defenceless people and plunder and destroy anything that came in their way. Many colonists lost their lives by the hands of these marauders. On the 9th of August a patrol of nineteen Stellenbosch burghers was surrounded in a kloof in Albany, when five

of them were killed: Pieter and Hermanus de Villiers, Jan Basson, Pieter Haushamer, and Daniel Russouw. One of the De Villiers could have escaped, but would not leave his wounded brother, and both perished together. The bodies were afterwards recovered, and were taken to Grahamstown for burial, the people of that place having requested Commandant Onkruydt to allow them to defray the expense of the funeral. There was no Dutch church in Grahamstown, but the reverend Dr. Roux had taken shelter there when the village of Riebeek East was abandoned. The reverend Mr. Heavyside offered the use of the English church, and the funeral proceeded from it, he and Dr. Roux conducting the service together.

In different places in the frontier districts there were murdered between July and October Messrs. Gordon Nourse, Barend Vosloo, William Cumming, Carel van Heerden, Jabez Aldum, James Pankhurst, Williams, Shields, Wiggins, Mildenhall, Feckery, Gamble, and Smith, and almost as many Hottentots and other coloured servants.

Several circumstances concurred at this time to make most of the chiefs profess a desire for peace. They had no hope of getting possession of any more cattle, for the country as far as they knew it had been nearly cleared of stock. The severe drought of the previous year had left them almost without corn, and in September heavy rains fell, so that they were desirous of getting their gardens in order.

On the 21st of August Stokwe abandoned the contest, and surrendered to Colonel Somerset. The great majority of his clan, however, continued in the field, and though he promised to restore the colonists' cattle which were in charge of some of his followers beyond the Buffalo, he did not keep his word. Fifty muskets were given up by the men who surrendered with him.

Makoma was the next to tender submission. He was suffering from a severe attack of dysentery, and it was with difficulty that he could move about. He sent a message in

the name of the whole of the Gaika and Imidange chiefs, requesting to be informed whether hostilities might not cease. Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone was entrusted with the governor's reply. On the 30th of September this officer, accompanied by Major Smith, the reverend Henry Calderwood, and the reverend Frederick Kayser, who acted as interpreter, met the chiefs Sandile, Makoma, Botumane, Tola, and a number of others of less note. The chiefs were attended by several thousand followers, nearly half of whom were armed with muskets. On the slope of a hill now called Sandile's Kop, about a mile from the present village of Alice, the conference took place. The conditions offered by the governor were that the Kaffirs must give up their guns, restore their booty, and accept locations wherever he should choose to place them. The chiefs were informed that he took possession of the country as far as the Kei for the queen of England, and that they would be located in it as British subjects. These conditions they rejected without hesitation.

In offering them, Sir Peregrine Maitland had in view a settlement in many respects similar to that of Sir Benjamin D'Urban. He intended to deprive the hostile clans of the fastnesses of the Amatola, but to leave them the remaining land east of the Tyumie and Keiskama rivers, where they were to be governed by British officers. The vacant land between the Fish and Kat rivers on one side and the Tyumie and Keiskama on the other was to be given to Hottentots, freed slaves, and other coloured people, who were to be placed under the care of a magistrate, and the Amatola fastnesses were to be allotted to Fingos. Already the reverend William Shaw, superintendent of the Wesleyan missions, was endeavouring under the governor's direction to obtain coloured people from the colony to form villages between the Tyumie and Kat rivers.

The Tembu chief Umtirara had sent to request the governor to receive him as a British subject and to declare the land between the colonial boundary and the Indwe river

British territory. This land he laid claim to as being to a large extent occupied by the emigrant Tembus, of whom he was nominally paramount chief, though he stated that he was too weak to enforce order or to prevent Mapasa making war upon the colony. The Galekas, the Bacas, and the Pondos were his enemies, and he asserted that he would be ruined if the governor did not protect him. In the last days of August his people around Clarkebury had been plundered by the Pondos, and nearly the whole of them had been driven over the Indwe. He was then living west of that river, as far from his enemies as possible.

His conduct was, however, exceedingly suspicious. He wanted British protection, but he was known to be secreting cattle driven from the colony. He did not offer an inch of territory to which he had any valid claim, but he proposed to secure a retreat and reserve his rights over all beyond. Early in November Mr. Joseph Read with the Hottentots of Stockenstrom attacked Mapasa, and took fifteen hundred head of cattle from him. Umtirara then, seeing Mapasa being gradually deprived of the immense spoil which he had secured, came down upon him, seized the remainder, and utterly ruined the emigrant Tembu chief for the time.

With two of his councillors Umtirara now proceeded to Blockdrift, and on the 3rd of December had an interview with the governor. The reverend J. C. Warner, Wesleyan missionary with the Tembus, acted as interpreter. Umtirara repeated his statement of fear of his enemies, and renewed his request for British protection. As an earnest of his sincerity he presented to the governor three hundred of the oxen driven from the colony and taken by him from Mapasa.

Sir Peregrine Maitland could not promise the chief British protection without the consent of the imperial authorities, but he recommended the application to the secretary of state. His plan for the settlement of the frontier was then to place the territory between the colonial boundary on one

side and the Indwe * and Kei rivers on the other under three British magistrates, one north of the Amatola range with the Tembus, one south of that range with the Gaikas, and one near the sea with the remaining Rarabe clans. To Umtirara he intended to leave a large amount of authority, but the chiefs of the emigrant Tembu and Rarabe clans were to be deposed.

This was the plan of settlement which was being developed in the governor's mind when the negotiations were carried on with the Gaika chiefs in September. Those negotiations ended unsuccessfully, as has been related, and the clans near the coast had not even asked for terms.

On the 16th of September operations were directed against the latter, and Colonel Somerset with part of the second division of the army commenced to scour the country between the Keiskama and Gonubie rivers. The weather was very inclement, so that the troops and levies were subject to much discomfort, but by the 4th of October from four to five thousand head of cattle were secured, principally from Umhala's people.

The rains enabled the governor to put a strong force in the field again, but now the Xosas adopted a plan which completely baffled him. The men would not fight, they would not even run away. They simply sat down in front of approaching troops, knowing that they would not be fired at under such circumstances, and that a whole tribe could not be detained as prisoners. The women were everywhere found busy making gardens, but as soon as an armed force appeared they thronged round it with their children begging for food. Patrols were sent out to scour the country for cattle, but found very few, as nearly all had been driven far away to the eastward.

What was the governor to do? He could not shoot unresisting men, he could not maintain prisoners, he would not

* Termed the White Kei in the official documents of the day, but from the charts attached to them and from later papers it is seen that the Indwe branch was intended.

destroy the gardens upon which children depended for food. Makoma came in, and threw himself upon the compassion of the white people. What was the governor to do with him? Sandile sent word that he also wished to surrender. How could his submission be rejected?

The governor took as his chief adviser the reverend Henry Calderwood, a missionary of the London society, who had resided before the war at a station named Birklands, at no great distance from Fort Beaufort. Mr. Calderwood was an able man, but on this occasion his judgment was at fault. He persuaded the governor to modify the plan of settlement, by leaving the Gaikas in the fastnesses of the Amatola, a measure he afterwards greatly regretted. These clans were deprived, however, of the part of the upper Tyumie valley west of the Tyumie river, that stream and the Keiskama being now declared the western boundary of the Kaffir country. From this boundary to the Kei the territory was named British Kaffirland.

To Makoma and his family an outbuilding at Lovedale was assigned, where the chief remained more as a guest than as a prisoner, though his treatment of his wives and attendants was so violent that it was considered necessary to deprive him of weapons, and on one occasion even to place him in confinement for a short period. Mr. Calderwood was appointed commissioner for the settlement of the Gaika, Imidange, and Tinde clans, and was directed to receive the submission of all who would surrender their arms. Mr. Charles Brownlee was selected as his clerk. The people who submitted were to have ground allotted to them anywhere east of the Tyumie and the Keiskama.

The commissioner established himself at Blockdrift, in the premises once occupied by Mr. C. L. Stretch, the diplomatic agent. The appointments held before the war by Mr. Stretch with the Gaikas and Mr. Henry Fynn with the emigrant Tembus, as well as that of agent-general and frontier commissioner, held by Major Smith, were abolished.

On the 3rd of November the governor granted to Sandile a truce of fourteen days, and offered him permanent peace if he would restore twenty thousand head of cattle and give up his arms. Sandile professed to agree to these terms, and on the day after the truce expired made his appearance at Blockdrift with from two to three hundred horses and about the same number of horned cattle, which he handed over. He also brought in the axestealer Kleintje and a man who he said was the murderer of the Hottentot on the 16th of March, but who died in prison before an examination could be held. A place of residence was then pointed out to the chief by Mr. Calderwood. After this every Kaffir who chose to surrender a musket or six assagais was registered as a British subject, and was permitted to settle down quietly. Between two and three hundred muskets were given up, but the best weapons were concealed. An announcement was made that all guns and all cattle taken from the colony would be seized wherever found, but the Kaffirs were not alarmed by it, as their only object was to gain time.

Captain John Maclean was appointed commissioner for the settlement of the clans near the sea. These were more tardy than the Gaikas in falling into the arrangement, but in November Colonel Somerset attacked them on the Tshalumna, and took from them between sixteen and seventeen hundred head of cattle, after which their registration proceeded more rapidly. By the beginning of December only Pato, Kobe, and Toyise were left west of the Kei in open warfare with the colony. Their following, however, was greatly increased by warriors from the other clans, and thus the Rarabes at a trifling cost obtained what they desired, a truce to enable them to plant extensively and at the same time a party at war to enable them to keep the troops occupied, and to plunder if an opportunity offered.

No one disputed the integrity of the governor or his desire to protect the colony, but those who were best acquainted with the Kaffirs knew that their submission was only feigned. The registration was of no value whatever.

As soon as a few individuals were received as British subjects and settled at any place, their friends joined them without reporting to the commissioners, and kraals that should have contained only fifty men often contained four or five hundred. The demeanour of these people towards Europeans was sullen, and cattle in their possession could not be inspected except by a large armed force.

The governor was not aware of the extent of the fraud that was being practised. The discomfort of living in the field and above all the anxiety and worry to which he was subject were very trying to one of his advanced age, and therefore those about him concealed a great deal that it would have been unpleasant for him to know. His bodily strength was failing and his memory was defective, though otherwise his mental faculties were clear and strong.

As Pato with his associates was known to be somewhere between the lower Gonubie and the Kei, a strong force of burghers, soldiers, and coloured levies was made ready to proceed eastward and, as was hoped, bring the war to an end. The burghers, who had recently been called to take up arms again, were placed under command of Captain Sutton, of the Cape mounted rifles. The levies were under Captain Hogg, of the 7th dragoons. The governor accompanied the expedition, and next to him in authority was Colonel Somerset. The plan was to surround and crush Pato, to demand fifteen thousand head of cattle from Kreli under penalty of attack, and to rescue about three thousand Fingos who were at Butterworth.

On the 27th of December the whole force was assembled at the site of Fort Warden, where a camp was formed. Lieutenant-Colonel Van der Meulen, of the 73rd regiment, with six hundred men then marched towards the nearest ford of the Kei as a feint to deceive the Kaffirs, whose scouts were carefully watching the movements. During the night Captain George Napier, of the Cape mounted rifles, with a division of equal strength crossed the river at a ford nine miles farther down, and Colonel Somerset left with the

cavalry to sweep round by the Gonubie to the sea. On the 30th these divisions returned with droves of cattle, but Pato, though seen, managed to escape.

On the 1st of January 1847 the whole force proceeded to Butterworth. Kreli having declined to comply with the demand made upon him, Colonel Somerset proceeded towards the coast, and in the Manubi forest, about eighteen miles east of the mouth of the Kei, as well as along the river Kogha (correct Kaffir spelling Qora), succeeded in securing a considerable number of cattle. A patrol along the Tsomo also met with some success.

A few days later the army returned to King-Williamstown with ten thousand head of cattle. The Fingos were brought from Butterworth, and were located in the valley of the Gaga and in the neighbourhood of the abandoned post Victoria, west of the Tyumie. The loss during the movement across the Kei was seventeen men, among whom were three officers, Captain Gibson, of the rifle brigade, Dr. Howell, of the same regiment, and Lieutenant Chetwynd, of the 73rd. They were galloping in advance of a patrol, and with two Hottentot soldiers were surrounded on the border of a thicket and were killed. The bodies, frightfully mutilated, were recovered on the following day.

On the 6th of January, at Butterworth, Sir Peregrine Maitland received a despatch from Earl Grey, dated the 16th of September, announcing that Sir Henry Pottinger had been appointed to succeed him as governor, and as that officer did not hold a commission in the national army, Lieutenant-General Sir George Frederick Berkeley had been selected as commander of the forces. No fault was found with any of his measures, the only reason assigned for his removal being his advanced age. He had just been promoted to the rank of general.

On the following morning the governor directed Colonel Somerset to assume command of the forces until the arrival of Sir George Berkeley, and immediately afterwards left for Capetown to meet his successor. On the 13th of January,

as he passed through Grahamstown, he issued a proclamation abolishing martial law in the colony, as he believed the war was practically over. Embarking in Algoa Bay in the steamer *Thunderbolt*, he reached Simonstown on the 19th.

On the 27th of January 1847 Sir Henry Pottinger and Sir George Berkeley arrived in Table Bay in the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamship *Haddington*, which left Southampton on the 5th of December. The same afternoon the new governor took the oaths of office.

Sir Peregrine Maitland with his family sailed in the ship *Wellesley* on the 23rd of February. From the date of his reaching England he lived in retirement, though enjoying the esteem of the imperial government and of every one who knew anything of him. He died in London on the 30th of May 1854, in the seventy-seventh year of his age.

CHAPTER XXXV.

SIR HENRY POTTINGER, GOVERNOR AND HIGH COMMISSIONER, INSTALLED 27TH JANUARY 1847; RETIRED 1ST DECEMBER 1847.

SIR HENRY GEORGE WAKELYN SMITH, GOVERNOR AND HIGH COMMISSIONER, INSTALLED 1ST DECEMBER 1847; RETIRED 31ST MARCH 1852.

THE SEVENTH KAFFIR WAR—*(continued)*.

SIR HENRY POTTINGER was an officer of distinction in the service of the East India Company. He was born in 1789 at Mount Pottinger, in the county of Down, Ireland, and entered the Company's navy when only fourteen years of age. Shortly afterwards he exchanged into the Indian army, and though he never saw much military service he attained in it the honorary rank of major-general. In 1809 he first showed his ability as a diplomatist, when accompanying a mission to Scinde. The two following years were spent in company with Captain Christie in exploring the country between India and Persia, of which very little was previously known. Of this expedition he published an account. In the Mahratta war of 1816 and 1817 he was political assistant to Mr. Elphinstone, and was afterwards for some years superintendent of part of the conquered country. In 1831 he was sent to Scinde, and negotiated a treaty that opened the navigation of the Indus. In 1838 he was again sent to Scinde, and was so successful in his mission that he was rewarded by being made a baronet. In 1841 he went to China as the queen's plenipotentiary,

and brought the war with that country to a conclusion by negotiating terms of peace that were regarded as alike honourable and advantageous. For this service a pension of £1,500 a year was voted to him by the house of commons without a dissentient voice. He was married in 1820 to Miss Cooke, of Dublin, and had two sons and a daughter living; but his family did not accompany him to South Africa.

In addition to being governor, Sir Henry Pottinger was appointed "high commissioner for the settling and adjustment of the affairs of the territories in Southern Africa adjacent or contiguous to the eastern and north-eastern frontier of the colony," in order that he might make some arrangement with the hostile tribes that would bring the war to a close and tend thereafter to preserve peace. In this capacity Mr. Richard Woosnam was appointed his secretary.

The mode of settlement was left largely for him to devise, but he was informed of Earl Grey's views, which show that the minister could have known very little of South African affairs. The Kaffirs west of the Keiskama, he thought, should be required to acknowledge the queen as their protector and to receive a British officer as the commander-in-chief of all their forces. The authority of the chiefs should be maintained, but in civil as well as in military matters they should be subject to the European commander. Kaffir troops under European officers should be raised and sent to the western districts of the colony, where they would be hostages for the good conduct of their kindred and friends.

Sir Henry Pottinger's stay at the seat of government was short. Leaving Capetown on the 10th of February, he reached Grahamstown on the 28th, and at once instituted an inquiry into the condition of matters. Pato, Kobe, and Toyise were still openly at war, and had full possession of the country between the lower Buffalo and the Kei. Kreli had not surrendered the cattle demanded of him. The other

chiefs professed submission, but it was apparent that few of them were in earnest. Bands of marauders were prowling about the districts of Albany and Somerset, where most of the farmers were still in lager or in the villages.

Sir Peregrine Maitland, believing that the war was nearly over, had abolished martial law, permitted most of the burghers and levies to return to their homes, and sent the 90th regiment to Port Elizabeth in order that it might embark for England. To make up for this loss of force he had done nothing more than order a hundred Kaffirs to be enrolled as policemen and stationed close to Mr. Calderwood's office, at a place to which the name Alice was then given in honour of the second daughter of the queen. The ground thereabouts had been granted provisionally by Sir Benjamin D'Urban at the close of the preceding war to Mr. Andrew Geddes Bain, as a recompense for special services; but was restored to the Kaffirs under the Stockenstrom treaties. Mr. Stretch, the late diplomatic agent, now laid claim to it as having been given to him by the Gaika chiefs. The governor, however, refused to admit his claim as valid; but allowed him to retain the house which he had built—which is still standing and now belongs to the Lovedale institution, —and granted him title deeds to forty acres of land about it. On the 20th of January 1847 Lieutenant David Davies, late of the 90th regiment, was appointed superintendent of the Kaffir police then being raised, and became the first European resident in Alice.

The new governor countermanded the order for the 90th to embark, made great efforts to collect a large body of Hottentots, and appealed to the colonists to furnish seven or eight hundred volunteers to meet at Fort Peddie on the 18th of March, promising not to detain them longer than a month.

Lieutenant Charles Forsyth, of the royal navy, was sent to inspect the mouth of the Buffalo river and report upon it, as Sir George Berkeley desired to form a chain of posts ong that stream.

As the Kaffirs in open hostility were known to be well supplied with ammunition, which Sir Henry Pottinger was convinced they obtained from those who were registered and who procured it from secret traders so lost to honour and integrity as to imperil the lives and property of their countrymen for the sake of gain, on the 31st of March he issued a proclamation forbidding traffic of every kind with any of the people then or recently in arms against the colony. Persons caught trading with them were to be considered and treated as being in treasonable intercourse with the enemy, for which they could be tried by court-martial and shot if found guilty.

The number of burghers who assembled at Fort Peddie was not so great as the governor desired, but with them and the Cape mounted rifles Colonel Somerset undertook to drive the adherents of Pato from the country between the lower Keiskama and Buffalo rivers, to which they had returned. A few recently stolen cattle were recovered, but the enemy was not met with in force. There was abundant proof, however, that the Kaffirs were in occupation in large numbers, and that every movement of Colonel Somerset's party was closely watched. On the 3rd of April a small patrol was surprised near the mouth of the Buffalo, and two burghers from Albany—Blakemore and Pester by name—were killed. Seeing that nothing was likely to result from the movement, on the 11th of April the burghers disbanded without authority, claiming that they had left their homes early in March on condition of not being detained longer than a month.

The troops in the colony at this time mustered in all five thousand four hundred and seventy rank and file, and Sir George Berkeley was authorised to add four hundred men to the Cape mounted rifles. Captain Hogg was busy raising a large irregular force of Hottentots. The governor increased the Kaffir police under Lieutenant Davies to two hundred men, with four junior officers, ten sergeants, and eight corporals, one-fourth of the whole being mounted. He also

issued instructions that if any transports with soldiers on board should put into Table Bay or Simon's Bay on the way to England, half a regiment should be detained and kept at Capetown as a reserve. On the 22nd of May the *Hindostan* arrived in Table Bay from Calcutta, bound to London, with one hundred and twenty-nine men of the 62nd regiment returning home. They were quartered in the barracks, and on the 2nd of July their number was made up to four companies from another detachment of the same regiment which arrived from Calcutta in the ship *Duke of Wellington.* These soldiers were never sent to the frontier, but remained as a reserve in Capetown until the close of the war.

The report of Lieutenant Forsyth being favourable, a strong body of troops was now moved to the line of the Buffalo. On the western side of the mouth of that stream a wing of the 73rd regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Van der Meulen was stationed, and a fort—afterwards named Glamorgan — was built. Eleven miles higher up Colonel Somerset formed a camp. Six miles beyond was a smaller camp under Lieutenant Need, of the rifle brigade, whose name the site still bears. Another post was at Fort Murray, which was rebuilt, and the largest of all was King-Williamstown, where Lieutenant-Colonel Buller, of the rifle brigade, was in command.

On the 28th of April the barque *Frederick Huth* arrived at the mouth of the Buffalo with stores, which were landed without accident, and thereafter that port was used to supply the troops at the advanced posts. It was found to afford greater facilities than Waterloo Bay for conveying goods from ships to the shore. Once within the bar boats were perfectly sheltered. Still there was soon proof that the roadstead was dangerous, for on the 17th of October a surfboat was overturned, when seven men were drowned, and a few hours later the schooner *Ghika* was driven ashore and the twelve men on board were all lost. The *Thunderbolt*, the first steam ship-of-war on the station, unfortunately struck on Cape Recife on the 3rd of February, and was so

much damaged that it was necessary to run her on the beach below Port Elizabeth, where she became a total wreck. But she was quickly replaced by the *Rosamond*, so that communication between Table Bay and the mouth of the Buffalo was tolerably certain and rapid.

As soon as his crops were gathered, Sandile assumed an attitude which plainly indicated that he was ready to resume hostilities. He was again regarded by the British authorities as the principal chief of the Gaikas, for Sir Henry Pottinger's views were in some important respects different from those of Sir Peregrine Maitland. Each determined to extend the colonial boundary to the Keiskama and Tyumie rivers, and to place the territory between those streams and the Kei under the sovereignty of the queen of England as a dependency to be occupied almost exclusively by Bantu and to be termed British Kaffirland. Here, however, their agreement ceased.

Sir Peregrine Maitland proposed to fill the land between the Keiskama and the old border with coloured people only, who should be drawn from the colony and therefore accustomed to colonial law. Sir Henry Pottinger believed that this would be nothing else than making a great settlement like that at Stockenstrom, a home of an idle and unprogressive people, who on the least disaster would be thrown upon the government for support. He therefore intended to mix Europeans, colonial blacks, and Fingos upon the ground.

Sir Peregrine Maitland proposed to include in British Kaffirland the whole territory west of the Indwe, if not of the Tsomo, as claimed by the Tembu chief Umtirara, who asked for British protection. Sir Henry Pottinger was undecided as to this, and under any circumstances objected to Umtirara's claim, which was disputed and rested on no solid right. A large portion of the territory was thinly occupied by some Hottentots, Fingos, and other coloured people from the colony, who had moved into it some years before under the leadership of Mr. Joseph Read, son of the

missionary at the Kat river: To give a show of right to their occupation, these people set up as a chief a Bushman named Madoor, one of ten or twelve of that race still in existence there, and called themselves Bushmen and his subjects. Their claim was quite as good as Umtirara's, and they had certainly sided with the colony during the war, whereas his professions of friendship were not to be depended upon. Kreli also claimed a large part of the territory, and beyond all dispute his right was equal to that of Umtirara.

A still greater difference in the views of the two governors was as to the manner in which the people in British Kaffirland should be ruled. Sir Peregrine Maitland would not recognise chieftainship at all, except in the person of Umtirara; Sir Henry Pottinger regarded the chiefs as heads of the clans, and intended to govern the people through them. The one would make European officers the sole executive and judicial authorities, the other would make them the guides and controllers of the chiefs. No proclamation had yet been issued extending British authority over the territory east of the Keiskama, but all the registered Kaffirs—Sandile among the number—had agreed to become British subjects, and were so regarded. While Sir Peregrine Maitland remained governor Sandile was treated by the officials as an ordinary Kaffir, but when Sir Henry Pottinger assumed the direction of affairs the chief was informed that he would be held responsible for the good conduct of his people, though he would not be allowed to punish on charges of witchcraft, and also that certain vile and obscene practices were prohibited. He was then in possession of his old kraals in and along the Amatola fastnesses. Under either system the chief was regarded by his people as their head, whose orders and wishes they were bound to obey even to death.

This was the state of matters when early in June fourteen goats were stolen from the Kat river and traced to one of Sandile's kraals. Mr. Calderwood, the Gaika commissioner, thereupon required of the chief the restitution of the stolen

property, a fine of three head of cattle, and the surrender of the thief. Sandile confiscated the property of the thief and his friends, but complied with the demand only to the extent of restoring twelve of the goats.

The governor then resolved to have the chief arrested, or, failing that, to seize his cattle and so bring him to terms. For this purpose Lieutenant Davies was despatched with two officers and seventy-four men of the Kaffir police, assisted by a hundred men of the 45th regiment, fifty dragoons, fifteen Cape mounted riflemen, and twenty Fingos, under Captain Moultrie of the 45th. On reaching Sandile's kraal near Burnshill it was found that the chief had fled, so two horses and thirty-nine head of cattle were taken possession of. The police moved towards a hill close by, upon which some Kaffirs were seen, when eight hundred or a thousand well armed men made their appearance, among whom Sandile himself was recognised. Other bodies of Kaffirs were fast assembling, so that the patrol considered it necessary to retreat. The Kaffirs followed nearly to Blockdrift, firing from a distance, by which two men of the patrol were killed and four were wounded.

After some days Sandile sent twenty-one head of cattle to Mr. Calderwood as a peace offering, but the governor decided that matters could only be settled by the chief's absolute submission or by war.

The season was favourable for military operations, as the country was covered with abundance of grass. Large quantities of stores of all kinds were sent to the front, the troops were arranged in the best manner to prevent an invasion of the colony, the cattle near the border were driven westward to be out of reach of a raid by Kaffirs, and then the governor directed Mr. Calderwood to demand from Sandile two hundred guns and the surrender of the thief who stole the goats.

On the 18th of August Mr. Alexander McDiarmid and two of the Kaffir police were sent to Sandile to make this demand. Mr. McDiarmid, who was one of the missionaries

of the Glasgow society, was selected for this duty because he had been in that part of the country ever since the birth of the chief, and was not only intimately acquainted with him, but was deeply interested in his welfare. Sandile was not at his kraal when the messengers arrived. The governor's demand was therefore clearly explained to his mother Sutu and his brother Anta, coupled with Mr. McDiarmid's earnest advice that he should comply with it.

As was anticipated, Sandile treated the message with disdain, so on the 27th of August 1847 Sir Henry Pottinger proclaimed him a rebel, and called out the burghers to aid in attacking him, offering them all the cattle they could seize in his district. Very few burghers, however, responded to this call. They regarded an attack upon Sandile under the circumstances as perfectly useless, because other chiefs who had registered themselves as British subjects would profess to be neutral, but would really take care of his cattle and give him all the help in their power. They also looked upon the Kaffir police as in reality spies, so that no warfare could be successful while this force was employed.

Another, though minor, cause of the burghers declining to take the field was the excitement that just then prevailed throughout the colony with regard to an action brought by the waggon driver Smith against Lieutenant-Colonel Lindsay for causing him to be flogged, as already related. The colonists believed that upon the issue of this case their safety from outrage depended. It came first before the circuit court at Grahamstown on the 5th of April, was then transferred to the supreme court in Capetown, and was finally decided by the circuit court at Uitenhage on the 28th of September 1847. In the criminal charge for assault the judge summed up in favour of the accused, on the ground that under martial law he was justified in acting as he did, and further that legal proceedings against him were prevented by an ordinance recently enacted for indemnifying all persons for acts performed in furtherance of military duty during the war. The jury, however, brought in a

verdict of guilty, but no punishment followed, as Colonel Lindsay was merely bound over under a penalty of £50 to appear when summoned to have sentence passed upon him. A civil action for £1,000 damages was dismissed by the judge with costs against Smith.

Another case of a similar nature brought against Lieutenant Bethune of the 91st was then withdrawn.

Owing to these causes only about two hundred burghers mustered upon the governor's call, and with them, the Hottentot levies under Captain Hogg and Captain Sutton, a band of Fingos, and as many regular soldiers as could be drawn from the forts and lines of defence, Sir George Berkeley commenced operations against Sandile. His plan was to have three depôts of supply along the line of the Amatola, from which patrols in light marching order, carrying with them a week's provisions, could harass Sandile's adherents and allow them no rest.

The first of these depôts was on the eastern bank of the Tyumie, where an enclosure of earthen banks and palisades had been made by Sir Peregrine Maitland's order, and named by him Fort Hare. The troops previously quartered in tents and in the Lovedale mission buildings on the opposite side of the river were now moved into wattle and daub buildings within the enclosure, and a large quantity of provisions and munitions of war was stored there. Between this station and Waterloo Bay there was a good road.

The second of the depôts was on the Debe river, at Fort White, which had been rebuilt in the same style as Fort Hare. Being the centre of the line, Sir George Berkeley made this post his headquarters for the time being.

The third, or the one on the extreme left of the line of operations, was at King-Williamstown, which was within reach of the mouth of the Buffalo for supplies.

On the other side of the Amatola range a depôt of supplies was formed at Shiloh, on the Klipplaats river. Captain Sutton, who was in command of a large irregular force, principally of Hottentots, was directed to make this

station his base, and to prevent the enemy's escape over the Bontebok flats.

Mr. Calderwood now moved the people under Kona, Botumane, Xoxo, and Stokwe into the Tyumie basin and the valley of the Gaga, to be out of the way while operations were being conducted against Sandile. Kona was the eldest son of Makoma, and was then the head of his father's clan, as Sir Henry Pottinger had sent the elder chief with his own consent to Port Elizabeth. Makoma took with him nine men, twenty-six women, and fifty-two children, as his family and attendants, all of whom were maintained by the government. Xoxo was acting as regent of the people of the late chief Tyali, during the minority of Oba and Fini.

Anta joined his brother Sandile. The remaining chiefs, Umhala, Siwani, Siyolo, Toyise, Sonto, Tola, Jan Tshatshu, and Tabayi the son of Umkayi, were allowed to remain on the locations where they were placed when they were registered, as the ground they were occupying was out of the field of hostilities.

On the 19th of September three patrols in light marching order left the respective depôts of supply, and at daylight on the following morning entered the Amatola fastnesses at different points. They consisted in all of about two thousand men, and were commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset, Lieutenant-Colonel Buller, of the rifle brigade, and Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, of the second battalion of the 91st. At the same time Sir George Berkeley sent out parties of cavalry from Fort White to scour the open country along the line of operations. Very few men and still fewer cattle were seen. Sandile and Anta with many of their warriors were there, but lay concealed among the crags and thickets, and were not discovered. The remainder of their followers were dispersed among the registered Kaffirs, and were carefully tending the cattle on ground beyond the defined area of hostilities.

When this was subsequently discovered, the registered Kaffirs first claimed the cattle on the plea of having acted

as allies of the British forces in taking them from the hostile chiefs; and when this failed, they made a great deal of their pretended adherence to engagements by giving up some of the least valuable animals.

All that the forces could accomplish in the Amatola was to destroy the huts and prevent the Kaffirs from settling anywhere, but as the system of patrolling was continued without intermission Sandile and Anta soon grew weary of it. In less than a month Sandile sent messengers to King-Williamstown to say that he was starving and was ready to give himself up on a guarantee that his life would be spared. This assurance being sent, on the 19th of October he and Anta with their councillors and eighty followers surrendered to Lieutenant-Colonel Buller, who was then patrolling in Keiskama Hoek. Sandile stated that he had been hiding among the crags on the Wolf river, and that on one occasion he narrowly missed being discovered by a rifleman. He recognised an officer who on another occasion was so near that he could distinguish his features.

Sandile, Anta, and twelve of the principal councillors were committed to the charge of an escort under Captain Bisset of the Cape mounted rifles. On the 24th of October they arrived at Grahamstown, where they were placed in detention as prisoners of war.

Sir George Berkeley then moved forward to the Kei to carry out a similar plan against Kreli and Pato. He formed a camp at the Komgha, and then directed Colonel Somerset to search for Pato, who was known to be in that neighbourhood. By the governor's order Captain Maclean had recently sent a message to that chief, offering peace if he would tender submission and give up five thousand head of cattle; but he declined the terms. On the 30th of October Colonel Somerset found his adherents in possession of a mountain well adapted for defence, but drove them from it without much difficulty.

On the 13th of November five officers—Captain William Leinster York Baker, Lieutenant Clarevaulx Faunt, Ensign

William Burnop, and Surgeon Neil Stewart Campbell, all of the 73rd regiment, and Assistant-Surgeon R. J. Loch, of the 7th dragoon guards—lost their lives near the camp at the Komgha. For the purpose of inspecting the country they had ridden to the top of a hill which commanded a very extensive view, and were there cut off by a party of Galekas of the clan under Buku, Kreli's uncle. For some time it was not known at the camp what had become of them, but on the following day their spoor was followed, when the mangled bodies were found. Their remains were interred at the Komgha, but were afterwards removed, and now lie within the walls of Trinity church, King-Williamstown.

For several weeks movements were constantly made up and down both banks of the Kei, in which three or four thousand head of cattle were captured, and which allowed Pato and his followers no repose, though they managed to avoid meeting the troops. Some of their cattle were sent into Umhala's location and were sheltered there, but the best of the herds which they had driven from the colony were in the valley of the Bashee. There the Galekas were determined to keep them, and Pato found not only that he could get no aid from Kreli, but that he would be prevented by that chief from escaping eastward. There was every indication indeed that Kreli was ready to make his peace with the governor by seizing and surrendering the Gunukwebe captain. Under these circumstances, and being constantly harassed and without a place of even temporary refuge, on the 19th of December he sent two messengers to Colonel Somerset to ask if his life would be spared in case he surrendered. On being assured that it would, a few hours afterwards he and his attendants laid down their guns and became prisoners of war. No chief was then left west of the Kei who had not given in his submission.

A notification from Sir Henry Pottinger had been sent to Kreli offering peace on condition of his acknowledging the Kei as the boundary of his territory, promising to conduct himself thereafter as a friend, and surrendering ten thousand

head of cattle; but the chief could not make up his mind to the last of these conditions.

Just at this time the connection of Sir Henry Pottinger and Sir George Berkeley with South Africa ceased, and a new governor, who possessed the entire confidence of the colonists, arrived in the country. This was no other than Sir Harry Smith, who as Colonel Smith had been the head of the province of Queen Adelaide under Sir Benjamin D'Urban.

From Lord Glenelg this officer had received scanty justice. He was accused by that minister of having acted in a barbarous manner in the war of 1835, and when his innocence was proved Lord Glenelg declined to make any other amends than withdrawing the statement. It was in vain that Sir George Napier recommended the appointment of Colonel Smith as an extra aide-de-camp to the queen, in order to prove that all erroneous impressions concerning him had been removed, and to silence calumny. No man could have been better acquainted with Colonel Smith's humane disposition than Sir George Napier, for when he wrote that despatch—26th of January 1838—they had been friends for thirty-three years, and they had bled together under Sir John Moore and the duke of Wellington.

Whether owing to Lord Glenelg's influence or not it is impossible to say, but Colonel Smith only received promotion after the fall of that minister. He was then appointed adjutant-general of the army in India, and after a residence of over eleven years in South Africa, in June 1840 he left to fill that office. A few years later an opportunity to distinguish himself occurred, and on the 28th of January 1846 the division under his command won the memorable victory of Aliwal over the Sikhs.

Upon the conclusion of the Sikh war Colonel—then Sir Harry—Smith returned to England, where he was received by the government and the people with the warmest applause. Honours were conferred upon him, addresses to the hero of Aliwal were presented at every town he

passed through, and no long time elapsed before he was appointed governor of the Cape Colony, high commissioner, and commander-in-chief of the forces.

On the 1st of December 1847 the new governor and his lady arrived in Table Bay in the East India Company's ship *Vernon*. The first intelligence that he received was of the death of the five officers near the Komgha. As the *Vernon* in the early morning was standing in she came abreast of a flagstaff at Seapoint, in the grounds of Mr. Henry Solomon. In answer to the signal "What is the latest news?" Mr. Solomon gave information of that disaster.

A few hours later Sir Harry Smith and his lady landed on the north jetty, at the foot of Bree-street, where the whole townspeople were assembled to meet him. Never had any one been received with such acclamations of welcome. Amidst the most hearty cheering, mingled with the roaring of cannon from the Imhof battery, the governor passed through the streets, at every moment recognising and saluting old acquaintances, and remarking upon alterations made during the time he had been away. Immediately after his arrival at government house he took the oaths of office. That night the town was brilliantly illuminated, and the windows in a solitary house that was unlit were completely wrecked by the populace.

On the 11th of December Sir Harry Smith embarked at Simon's Bay in the *Rosamond*, and landing at Algoa Bay, reached Grahamstown on the 17th. Everywhere his reception was as warm as it had been in Capetown, for every one in the colony, whether English or Dutch, recognised in the brave and dashing, but generous and unselfish soldier, the broadminded liberal statesman, whose knowledge of frontier affairs would enable him to adjust matters there in the way best adapted to benefit them and the Kaffirs alike.

On the 16th of December he had an interview with Sir Henry Pottinger at Lieutenant Daniell's farm Sidbury Park. The late governor had remained on the frontier purposely to meet him and give him all the information possible.

As soon as the meeting was over Sir Henry Pottinger hastened to Capetown to embark for Madras, of which presidency he had been appointed governor. He left without the esteem of a single colonist, though every one acknowledged him to be a man of rare ability and great industry. No other governor of the colony ever lived in such open licentiousness as he. His amours would have been inexcusable in a young man, in one approaching his sixtieth year they were scandalous. In other respects a cold, sneering, unsympathetic demeanour prevented men of virtue from being attracted to him. He was much better adapted for office in India than in South Africa. He remained in Madras until 1854, when he returned to Europe, but dreaded living in England during the winter months. He died at Malta on the 18th of March 1856.

Sir George Berkeley accompanied Sir Henry Pottinger to Madras as commander of the forces. He had left Colonel Somerset with the army on the Kei, and waited in Grahamstown to transfer his duties. This was effected on the morning of the 17th of December, when Sir Harry Smith took command of the troops.

The two preceding governors had regarded the extension of the colonial boundary as a necessity, but had issued no proclamation concerning it, as the successive secretaries of state were opposed to any enlargement that could possibly be avoided. The governors had therefore expressed their views with the reasons for forming them, and awaited instructions.

Sir Harry Smith acted promptly in the matter. On the 17th of December, a few hours after his arrival at Grahamstown, he proclaimed a new boundary for the colony: from the mouth of the Keiskama along the western bank of that stream to its junction with the Tyumie, thence along the western bank of the Tyumie to its northernmost source, thence along the summit of the Katberg range to the centre of Gaika's Kop, thence to the nearest source of the Klipplaats river, thence along the western bank of the

Klipplaats to its junction with the Zwart Kei, thence along the western bank of the Zwart Kei to its junction with the Klaas Smit's river, thence along the western bank of the Klaas Smit's to its source in the Stormberg, thence across the Stormberg to the source of the Kraai river, thence along the western bank of the Kraai to its junction with the Orange, and thence along the southern bank of the Orange to the Atlantic ocean.

A few days later intelligence was received of the surrender of Pato, which completed the apparent submission of the clans west of the Kei. The governor thereupon proceeded to King-Williamstown, and on the day of his arrival there—23rd of December 1847,—in presence of the chiefs who were assembled for the purpose, he proclaimed the whole of the territory occupied by the Rarabe clans and part of that occupied by the emigrant Tembus under the queen's sovereignty. It was bounded on the west by the new colonial border from the sea to the junction of the Klipplaats river with the Zwart Kei, on the north-east by the Kei river from that point to the sea, and on the south-east by the Indian ocean. This territory, which was named British Kaffraria, was not annexed to the Cape Colony, but was to be a distinct dependency of the crown, kept in reserve for the Kaffir people over whom the high commissioner was to be great chief.

Sandile and Anta, who were brought by the high commissioner from Grahamstown with him, were present with the other chiefs, but Makoma had not yet arrived from Port Elizabeth. The troops were drawn up in lines, and the Kaffir chiefs with some thousands of attendants were seated in a great hollow circle. Into this circle Sir Harry Smith rode with his staff, and read the proclamation. In order to impress the events of the day upon the minds of the barbarians, he then called for a sergeant's baton, which he termed the staff of war, and a wand with a brass head, which he termed the staff of peace. Calling the chiefs forward, he desired them to touch whichever they pleased,

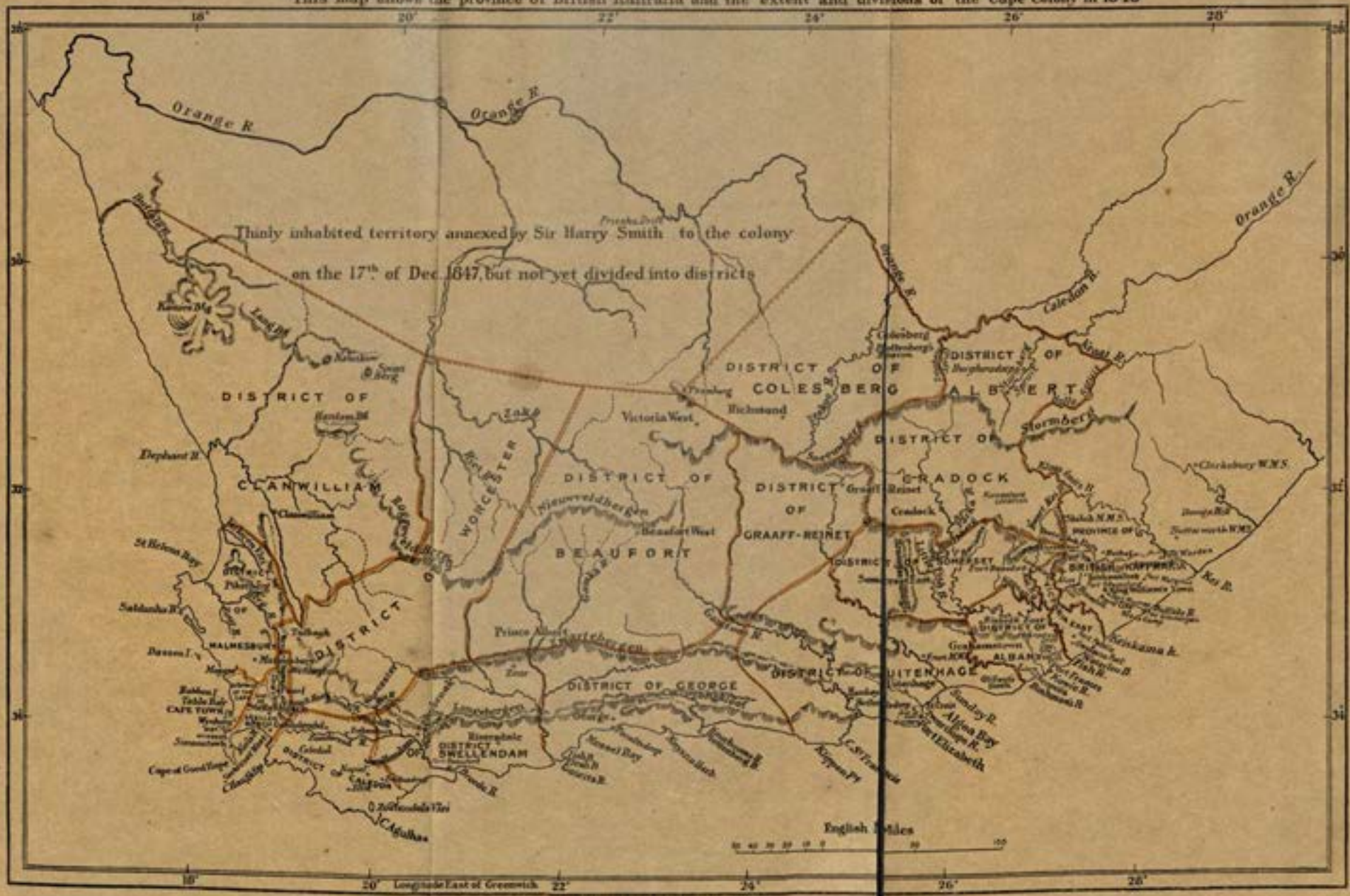
when each of course touched the staff of peace. After an address of some length upon their prospects if they behaved themselves and threats of what would happen if they did not, he required them to kiss his foot in token of submission. This they did also without hesitation. The ceremony concluded by the high commissioner shaking hands with all the chiefs, calling them his children, and presenting them with a herd of oxen to feast upon.

Arrangements were immediately made for the government of the territory. The reverend Henry Calderwood, previously Gaika commissioner, was provided with a different situation, and Lieutenant-Colonel George Mackinnon was appointed commandant and chief commissioner of British Kaffraria. He was directed to reside in King-Williamstown, and to exercise control over the other officials. All correspondence with the high commissioner was to pass through him. To him there was to be an appeal from the decisions of any officials. The military officers in the territory were directed to support him when required, but he was not to call upon them for assistance except in cases of great emergency. For ordinary purposes the Kaffir police force was placed at his disposal.

This police had been increased by Sir Henry Pottinger to four hundred and forty-six men. It was in two divisions, respectively under Lieutenant Davies and Mr. Charles Mostyn Owen, who were termed superintendents. In each division there were four junior European officers, three European sergeants, seven Kaffir sergeants, and eight Kaffir corporals. The principal part of this force was stationed along the colonial border, to prevent cattle stealing. Sir Harry Smith, like Sir Henry Pottinger, spoke and wrote of it in high terms of praise, but the colonists were very suspicious of its fidelity and regarded the training of the men to the use of arms as an experiment fraught with danger.

Captain Maclean, previously Ndlambe commissioner, was directed to reside at Fort Wellington, a new military post

This map shows the province of British Kaffraria and the extent and divisions of the Cape Colony in 1848



established close to the abandoned mission station Wesleyville on the Tshalumna river. He had been invested with all the powers of a civil commissioner and resident magistrate in the Cape Colony, and this authority was left to him. Pato and his followers were to be located in that neighbourhood.

Mr. Charles Brownlee, previously clerk to Mr. Calderwood, was appointed assistant commissioner, and was directed to reside at Fort Cox, in the neighbourhood of Sandile's kraal. Mr. William Macdowell Fynn, formerly diplomatic agent with Kreli, was appointed assistant commissioner, and was directed to reside at Fort Waterloo, in Umhala's neighbourhood. Mr. Eldred Mowbray Cole, who on the 1st of May had been appointed Tembu commissioner with the full power of a civil commissioner and resident magistrate in the Cape Colony, was left at Shiloh, where he resided. This arrangement, however, was merely temporary, as the great body of the Tembus did not become British subjects, and Mr. Cole was shortly afterwards provided with a situation elsewhere.

Around each fort and each mission station a circular tract of land with a radius of two miles was reserved, upon which no Kaffirs could settle without express permission. All the remaining country was left to them exclusively, and boundaries were laid down between the different clans.

The only revenue proposed to be derived from the territory was from traders' licenses and fines for theft of cattle from beyond the border. Each trader was to pay £50 yearly for a license, and could only carry on business within the reserved areas round forts and mission stations. The sale of munitions of war and spirituous liquors was prohibited under very heavy penalties.

A strong military force was to be left in British Kaffraria. It was to consist of the first battalion of the rifle brigade, five hundred and sixty-nine officers and men, the reserve battalion of the 45th, five hundred and seventy-five officers

and men, the 73rd regiment, five hundred and seventy officers and men, one hundred and two artillerymen and engineers, and one hundred and ninety-two officers and men of the Cape mounted rifles. This force was to occupy eight commanding positions, namely King-Williamstown, the headquarters, on the left bank of the Buffalo, Fort Murray, close to the mission station Mount Coke, on a feeder of the Buffalo, Fort Glamorgan, on the western side of the mouth of the Buffalo, with an outpost to be called Fort Grey, on the road to King-Williamstown, Fort Hare, on the left bank of the Tyumie, Fort Cox, on the upper Keiskama, Fort White, at the source of the Debe, new Fort Wellington, on the Tshalumna, and Fort Waterloo, near the Gonubie.

These arrangements were concluded on the 24th of December, and a meeting of the chiefs was then called for the 7th of January 1848, to hear them explained. On that day there were assembled at King-Williamstown Sandile and Anta, sons of Gaika; Kona, son of Makoma; Fini and Oba, sons of Tyali, with Xoxo, the regent of the clan during their minority; Umhala, son of Ndlambe; Tabayi, son of Umkayi; Siwani, Siyolo, and Umfundisi, sons of Dushane; Nonibe, widow of Dushane; Stokwe and Sonto, sons of Eno, of the Amambala clan; Toyise, son of Gasela; Tola and Botumane, of the Imidange clan; Pato, Kama, and Kobe, of the Gunukwebe clan; Jan Tshatshu, of the Tinde clan; Umtirara and Mapasa, of the Tembu tribe; and many others of less note. Kreli and Buku were not present, but they had sent representatives to express their desire for peace. A great number of councillors and attendants accompanied the chiefs.

The missionaries were returning to their old stations or to form new ones, and at the high commissioner's invitation were present at the meeting. Camp followers of all descriptions, men attached to the commissariat and transport services, traders, and others attracted by curiosity helped to swell the assembly. The troops were drawn up in lines between which the high commissioner with his staff rode

towards the throng, while the bands of the regiments played the national anthem.

After a prayer by the reverend Mr. Dugmore, Wesleyan missionary, Sir Harry Smith addressed the Kaffirs upon their position. The chiefs then made oath :—

1. To obey the laws and commands of the high commissioner as great chief and representative of the queen of England;

2. To compel their people to do the same;

3. To disbelieve in and cease to tolerate or practise witchcraft in any shape;

4. To prevent the violation of women;

5. To abhor murder, and to put to death every murderer;

6. To make their people honest and peaceable, and never to rob from the colony or from one another;

7. To acknowledge that their lands were held from the queen of England;

8. To acknowledge no chief but the queen of England and her representatives;

9. To abolish the sin of buying wives;

10. To listen to the missionaries and make their people do so;

11. On every anniversary of that day to bring to King-Williamstown a fat ox in acknowledgment of holding their lands from the queen.

Some of these conditions were subversive of the whole framework of Kaffir society, nevertheless the chiefs took the oath in the name of the Great Spirit without any compunction. Few of them had any intention of keeping it.

Sandile and Kona represented that the ground on which their people were then living was too limited in extent for their needs, and wanted the high commissioner to give them also the territory between the Keiskama and Fish rivers. They were informed that there was plenty of vacant land towards the Kei, on which they could build kraals and make gardens. None of the others had any request to make, and all were profuse of thanks.

Sir Harry then addressed them again, telling them what would happen if they were not faithful. "Look at that waggon," said he, pointing to one at a distance which had been prepared for an explosion, "and hear me give the word Fire!" The train was lit, and the waggon was sent skyward in a thousand pieces. "That is what I will do to you," he continued, "if you do not behave yourselves." Taking a sheet of paper in his hand: "Do you see this?" said he. Tearing it and throwing the pieces to the wind, "There go the treaties!" he exclaimed. "Do you hear? no more treaties!"

The representatives of Kreli and Buku were informed that peace would be made with those chiefs on the following terms:—

1. That they should evacuate and never again attempt to occupy any ground west of the Indwe and Kei rivers;

2. That they should acknowledge as the property of the queen of England the ground a mile in breadth on each side of the great road from Kei to Butterworth, and thence in one direction to Clarkebury and in another through Morley to Buntingville;

3. That within six days Buku should send in the arms of the officers murdered near the Komgha.

The assembly then dispersed with loud shouts of "Peace, peace."

Buku sent in the guns within the required time, and Kreli proceeded to King-Williamstown, where on the 17th of January he had an interview with Colonel Mackinnon and agreed to the terms imposed upon him. Subsequently of his own free will he collected a number of cattle to compensate Mr. W. M. Fynn and the reverend Mr. Gladwin for the destruction of their property at Butterworth at the commencement of the war.

Kama, who had fought on the European side, was rewarded by having a valuable tract of land some distance north of the Winterberg and within the new colonial boundary assigned to him. It is still known as Kamastone.

Hermanus in like manner received a fertile slip of territory on the Kat river near Fort Beaufort. The refugees from the mission stations returned to their old homes, except those who had been under the reverend Mr. Calderwood's care at Birklands, who received grants of land close to the Lovedale institution, within what is now the municipality of Alice. Umtirara, the paramount Tembu chief, who claimed to have acted as a neutral, was promised protection against Kreli if he chose to live on the land between the colonial boundary and the Indwe river, but in his own territory between the Bashee and the Umtata he would have to protect himself. Mapasa became a British subject in the same way as the Rarabe chiefs.

In this manner the war of the axe was brought to a close. To outward appearance the late hostile clans were now submissive, and according to their professions they were even grateful for the terms that had been granted to them; but there were few among the chiefs who really intended to accommodate themselves to the new order of things.

In this war there was no serious division among the colonists, as there had been in the preceding. No one in South Africa ventured to assert that the white people were in the smallest degree to blame for the rupture. Mr. Fairbairn wrote in the *Commercial Advertiser* in the same spirit as the editors of other colonial newspapers, and advocated the same measures. The reverend Dr. Philip was silent. He had gone through much domestic trouble, and had borne up against it, but the utter collapse of his plans for the elevation of the coloured races seemed to crush him. On the 1st of July 1845 his eldest son, the reverend William Philip, an amiable and eminently useful man, and his grandson, John Philip Fairbairn, a boy eleven years of age, were drowned at Hankey. Mr. Philip was having a tunnel cut through the upper end of a long narrow hill, round which the Gamtoos river ran with a considerable fall, so that a large extent of land belonging to the station might be irrigated. With his nephew he went to inspect the work, when by an

accident the boat in which they were crossing the river was overturned, and both were drowned. The blow was a severe one to Dr. Philip, but his religious principles enabled him to bear up under it. Yet when he was told that the man whom he had exhibited in England as a model Christian Kaffir was in arms against the colony and taking part with the murderers of helpless Fingo women and children he fairly broke down. From that time onward he was as much marked by meekness and gentleness as he had previously been by the opposite qualities. In the following year Mrs. Philip, who was a lady of great talent and zeal in the cause of missions, went to Hankey to die. There Dr. Philip spent his own last days, in complete abstention from everything connected with politics, but endeavouring to the utmost of his ability to promote the moral welfare of the coloured people.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

SIR HENRY G. W. SMITH, GOVERNOR AND HIGH COMMISSIONER, *(continued)*.

THE war now concluded had been protracted for a period of twenty-one months, and had cost the imperial government in round numbers one million pounds sterling. The colonists had also suffered very severely both in life and in property, a careful estimate made at the time showing losses exceeding half a million sterling. The natives engaged in hostilities were more numerous than they had been in 1834, and many of them were supplied with firearms. They were therefore able to hold out longer, and to do greater damage than they had done before. But their losses were much greater than those of the Europeans. Towards the close of hostilities many were compelled to subsist upon wild plants, and thousands now sought service in the colony to obtain food.

This state of distress was the cause of the clans acting in the most submissive manner until the next crops were gathered. Their laws and customs remained undisturbed, except that punishment for the imaginary crime of witchcraft was prohibited as far as possible. No more authority was taken from the chiefs than was necessary to preserve peace, and none of them made any complaint. Thus Colonel Mackinnon, the subordinate officials, the traders, and the missionaries were all of opinion that matters were going on as well as could be desired in British Kaffraria. On the 7th of October 1848 there was a conference at King-Williamstown between Sir Harry Smith and the chiefs and leading people of the province, when none but the most loyal

expressions were heard. Bishop Grey, who accompanied the governor, laid the foundation stone of the beautiful edifice now known as Trinity church, and Sir Harry laid the foundation of the Wesleyan church in Berkeley-street. Kreli, who arrived from beyond the Kei on the following day, just after his Excellency left to return to Capetown, galloped five miles till he overtook the governor, with whom he had a very friendly interview.

At the close of 1848 a census of the natives was taken, when the strength of each clan was found to be:

Under Sandile	14,915 souls	Under Siyolo	2,161 souls
,, Umhala	10,018 ,,	,, Makoma	2,066 ,,
,, Pato and Kobe	8,527 ,,	,, Jan Tshatshu	1,717 ,,
,, Toyise	7,481 ,,	,, Tola	1,487 ,,
,, Tebe	4,867 ,,	,, Botumane	1,455 ,,
,, Stokwe	3,342 ,,	,, Tabayi	877 ,,
,, Siwani	2,773 ,,	,, Sonto	672 ,,

Making a total of 62,358 Bantu in the province. It was supposed that there were then from twenty to twenty-five thousand Gaikas seeking food in Galekaland, Tembuland, and the colony. The revenue derived from trading licenses during the year was £2,470.

On the 28th of December 1847 the village at the mouth of the Buffalo river was named East London by a government notice, and on the 14th of January 1848 by a proclamation of Sir Harry Smith it, with the ground enclosed by a radius of two miles, was annexed to the Cape Colony, in order to prevent complications in the customs duties. A board of commissioners to report upon the best means of improving the mouth of the river for shipping purposes was appointed, consisting of Captain Walpole, of the royal engineers, Lieutenant Forsyth, of the royal navy, Mr. Delabere Blaine, and Mr. Charles Borradaile. Nothing, however, resulted from the appointment of this board, as there were no funds available for harbour improvements of even the simplest kind.

On the 23rd of December 1847 the territory between the old colonial border and British Kaffraria was constituted a

division of the Cape Colony, and was named Victoria East. On the following day the reverend Henry Calderwood was appointed its civil commissioner and resident magistrate, and was directed to open a court in the village of Alice, on the right bank of the Tyumie river. Some large tracts of fertile land in the upper part of the division were set apart for the use of those Fingos who had assisted the government in the war. In the unreserved portions farms were afterwards surveyed and offered for sale, some of which fell into the hands of speculators and were not occupied for many years.

On the 31st of March 1848 the ratification by the imperial authorities of the extension of the colony was announced to the governor by the secretary of state.

Upon the conclusion of peace the military force in South Africa was reduced, though four thousand seven hundred and three officers and men were still retained in the country. The 6th regiment, five hundred and sixty-four officers and men, seventy-two artillerymen and engineers, and six Cape mounted riflemen were stationed in Capetown; the reserve battalion of the 91st, five hundred and ninety-one officers and men, five hundred and thirty-four Cape mounted riflemen, and one hundred and eighty artillerymen and engineers were kept at Grahamstown and twelve other posts scattered about the eastern frontier; two thousand and eight officers and men were stationed in British Kaffraria; fifty-eight Cape mounted riflemen were in Bloemfontein; and six hundred and ninety officers and men were in Natal.

From the other regiments that had taken part in the war men were allowed to join the battalions that remained in South Africa or to take their discharge and settle in military villages, and those who did not do so were sent back to England. In January 1848 the 27th regiment, two hundred and eighty-three strong, the 90th, three hundred and ninety-four strong, the 62nd, one hundred and forty-five strong, and one hundred and forty-five men of the first battalion of the 91st, embarked to return to Great Britain. They were

followed in March by seventy-three men of the 91st, and in April by the 7th dragoons, two hundred and fifty-seven strong, and one hundred and ninety-five invalids.

As early as May 1841 Colonel Lewis, of the royal engineers, proposed the establishment of military villages on the frontier, as a means of defence against the Kaffirs, though the plan had been tried by Sir Rufane Donkin at Fredericksburg, and had failed. Sir Harry Smith thought that with a better class of men than those of the Royal African corps it would succeed, and on the 24th of December 1847 he issued a notice calling for applications from soldiers to settle in the Tyumie valley. On the 1st of January 1848 in general orders issued at King-Williamstown he announced the conditions on which the villages would be established.

Each soldier was to have twelve acres of land with a free title after seven years' occupation, arms and ammunition, rations for twelve months for himself, wife, and children, a plough and a harrow, tools for constructing a house, and seed for cornlands and garden free of charge; a donation of £5 to purchase furniture; and a loan of oxen and waggons for the first season and of a tent till he could build a house. He could be called out for military service when needed, and was then to receive from two shillings and six pence to three shillings and six pence a day according to his class, and when required to drill was to be paid six pence a day less. In each village there was to be a superintendent, who was to have a hundred acres of land and five shillings a day for two years.

Under these conditions seventy men with two women and two children were located under the superintendency of Captain Moultrie at Juanasburg,* seventy men under the superintendency of Lieutenant Godfrey Armytage at Woburn, sixty-three men with twelve women and forty-two children under the superintendency of Sergeant Porter at Auckland, and forty-four men with three women and eleven children

* So named after the governor's wife, a Spanish lady whose acquaintance he had made under very romantic circumstances during the war in the peninsula.

under the superintendency of Corporal Jacob at Ely. As far as beauty of situation and fertility of soil are concerned, these villages were well planned, three of them being in the valley of the Tyumie river and the fourth on a tributary of that stream, all within a couple of hours' ride from Alice and Fort Hare.

But many of the military settlers soon became dissatisfied. Delays, which the governor could not prevent, took place in the measurement of their lands, and there were complaints that the seed corn was not delivered to them at the right time for sowing. Still, during the first year, while free rations were served out, there was no sign of failure, but as soon as the issue of food ceased a falling off in the number of the residents commenced. Some of the men indeed set to work with a will, especially at Auckland, where they turned their attention to cutting timber in the neighbouring forest, but most of them were unfit to gain a living as independent landowners, and the absence of women was of itself fatal to the permanency of the settlements.

An attempt to form a strong Hottentot village on the Beka river was made at the same time. Hottentots who had served in the levies were to receive grants of ground from six to twelve acres in extent, rations till they could raise crops, and seed corn. They were to be under the superintendence of a Moravian missionary, and a grant of six thousand acres of ground was to be made to the Moravian society for the purpose of forming a station adjoining the little freeholds. A number of Hottentots accepted these terms, and were conducted by the reverend Christian Ludwig Teutsch to the Beka. But they soon grew discontented, and after a short trial abandoned the place, when the plan of forming a mission station there was also given up.

The arrangements for the protection of the border worked so satisfactorily for a time that the farmers of Albany and Somerset were able to resume their ordinary occupations. Many homesteads were rebuilt, and grazing lands were

restocked. Probably no country in the world recovers from disaster more rapidly than the Cape Colony. Drought, floods, war, locusts, cattle diseases, have at intervals brought it apparently to ruin, when two or three years afterwards it has been as prosperous as ever. No one visiting the eastern districts in 1850, without a knowledge of past occurrences, would have imagined that they had recently been laid waste by a barbarous enemy.

On the 9th of January 1848 the newly annexed territory north of the Stormberg was proclaimed a division, with the name of Albert. Mr. John Centlivres Chase was appointed its civil commissioner and resident magistrate, and was directed to hold his court in Burghersdorp. This was then the only village in that large territory, but in May 1849 Aliwal North was founded, in a beautiful situation on the bank of the Orange river.

A great increase in the number of courts of justice in the older parts of the Cape Colony was made at this time. In February 1846 the legislative council recommended the appointment of eleven additional magistrates, and on the 26th of June 1847 an ordinance was passed empowering the governor to create courts of resident magistrates in places where he might deem them necessary. Under this ordinance, on the 8th of March 1848 Sir Harry Smith proclaimed the new districts of Tulbagh, Piketberg, Simonstown, Riversdale, Mossel Bay, Richmond, Bathurst, Fort Beaufort, Stockenstrom, and Fort Peddie. To these districts, in the order here named, the following gentlemen were appointed magistrates: Major Piers, Captain J. M. Hill, Mr. F. B. Pinney, Major J. Barnes, Major George Longmore, Captain F. Hope, Mr. George Dyason, Mr. J. H. Borcherds, Mr. T. H. Bowker, and Mr. W. M. Edye.

The districts of Paarl, Caledon, and Port Elizabeth were made divisions also, and their resident magistrates—Mr. K. N. van Breda, Mr. W. M. Mackay, and Captain W. Lloyd—were required to perform the duties of civil commissioners as well. Two new divisions were created: Malmesbury, which

was made to include the districts of Malmesbury and Piketberg, of which Mr. W. F. Bergh was appointed civil commissioner, and Fort Beaufort, which was made to include the districts of Fort Beaufort and Stockenstrom, of which Mr. J. H. Borcherds became civil commissioner.

In 1848 the branch of the Anglican church in South Africa was greatly strengthened by the arrival of its first bishop, Dr. Robert Grey, son of a former bishop of Bristol, and previously vicar of Stockton-on-Tees. On the 25th of September 1847 letters patent were issued, constituting the Cape Colony, Natal, and the island of St. Helena a bishopric, and funds for the endowment of the see were provided by the baroness Burdett-Coutts, a wealthy English lady.

When the bishop arrived he found only thirteen Anglican congregations in the colony, no schools in connection with them, and no missions among the heathen. He was accompanied and followed by a large staff of active clergymen, who were stationed in the country villages, where they usually founded schools and mission chapels beside their churches. From the day of his appointment the bishop devoted much of his attention to the spread of denominational education within his diocese. No long time elapsed before he had made a commencement of that list of high schools of the English church which are dotted over South Africa, by the establishment of the diocesan college for Europeans, at Rondebosch, and the Zonnebloem institution for blacks, at Woodstock, close to Capetown. The last named was intended as a sort of high school, in which the sons of chiefs and men of influence could be educated, and to which the most intelligent pupils from the station schools throughout South Africa could be drafted, there to receive such training, as well as instruction from books, as would qualify them to fill important posts among their countrymen.

The Anglican church entered the mission field with this advantage over all other pre-existing bodies there, except the Dutch reformed and the Wesleyans, that its operations

were directed from the colony itself, not from distant Europe. This vastly increased its power for aggressive warfare. Owing to the liberality of churchmen in England and of societies there, it had also the command of a greater amount of money, in addition to which it was largely aided by grants from the colonial treasury. The see has since been divided again and again, and with each new bishop the staff of clergymen has been enlarged, so that now it has a greater number of ministers than any other Christian society in the country.

The Roman catholic church was also making rapid progress. The see of the Cape Colony was divided into two by a papal bull nominating the reverend Aidan Devereux bishop of Paneas and vicar apostolic of the eastern province. He was consecrated in Capetown on the 27th of December 1847, and a few days later took up his residence in Grahamstown. After establishing churches in many of the eastern villages, he died on the 11th of February 1854, and in September 1856 was succeeded by the right reverend Dr. Moran.

The most notable event of this period was the determined opposition made by the colonists to an attempt of Earl Grey to convert the Cape into a convict settlement, a measure which was dreaded as the worst of calamities. The only convicts that had ever been brought to South Africa were criminals from the Indian islands, sent to Capetown to be sold as slaves during the government of the Dutch East India Company. No white man known to be a felon was permitted at any period of our history to set foot on South African soil. To a people whose pride it was, and is still, to be singularly free of the graver kinds of crime, any idea of the pollution of society was naturally most abhorrent.

In May 1841 a scheme for making the colony a receptacle for criminals was first proposed by a British minister. It was that Europeans—chiefly soldiers—condemned in India to long terms of imprisonment should be confined on Robben Island,

and liberated in Capetown on the expiration of their sentences. Sir George Napier, however, represented so forcibly the bad effect which such a measure would probably have upon the coloured people, and so many remonstrances and petitions against it were forwarded by the colonists to the queen and to both houses of parliament that it was abandoned.

Another scheme, equally objectionable, was proposed by Lord Stanley in March 1842, which was to send out fifty convict boys to be apprenticed in the colony as an experiment. There was as much agitation over this proposal as over the other, and in November of the same year the secretary of state announced that it would not be carried out.

These proposals were made at a time when, if ever, the colonists might have been expected to agree to them, for the country was then believed to be sinking into ruin from a dearth of labourers. The emancipation of the slaves had recently taken place, and the freedmen were still huddled together in the villages, endeavouring to support life without engaging in farm work. Certainly, if the vinedressers and corngrowers, whose lands were lying untilled in 1842, preferred to battle with poverty rather than employ convicts, it could not be expected that in 1849, when their greatest difficulties were surmounted, they would be more inclined to use such labour.

During that interval, short as it was, the colonists had made a great advance in liberal ideas, they had seen the ruinous Glenelg treaties destroyed by war, education had made considerable progress, and they had been looking forward to take an active part in the government of the country. Throughout the colony the people were imbued with an intelligent patriotism, they were conscious that a great and prosperous future was before them, if they were only true to themselves. In 1842 Mr. Fairbairn had advanced an opinion in the *Commercial Advertiser* "that a pestilence sweeping off half the population should be preferred to an infusion of vice which would render the whole unworthy to live," and the sentiment was applauded from the Atlantic to the eastern

frontier. A memorial of that date, after referring to the promising appearance of Cape society and the progress of education and morality among the coloured people, declared that "the introduction of convicts would be fatal to the morals, industry, and very existence of the native population of Southern Africa," and concluded with a pledge "not to employ criminals of any description, nor to receive them into their establishments on any terms."

When on the 8th of November 1848 Sir Harry Smith announced to the legislative council that he had received a despatch from Earl Grey, dated the 7th of August, informing him of a project for making a penal settlement of the Cape, and an order in council of the 4th of September was read, in which this colony was included among those to which convicts might be sent, a general agitation throughout the country arose. Never was greater unanimity displayed than on this occasion. From village and farmstead, from vineclad valleys of the west and sheepwalks of the east, alike from Dutchmen and Englishmen went forth the declaration to do everything in their power to keep untainted the land which was to be their children's home.

At this time another act of the secretary of state was causing much dissatisfaction. In April 1848 he issued directions that no more agricultural families or artisans were to be sent out that year, as the remaining money voted by the legislative council to defray the cost of their passages was needed for the establishment of the military villages. This affected the colonists in two ways. First, though no one had any objection to the military villages, it was held that unmarried discharged soldiers, mostly men who had passed the prime of life, could not be of the same value to the country as industrious young married people for whose introduction the money was voted. Secondly, it was regarded as objectionable that money provided by the legislative council for a particular purpose should be diverted by the secretary of state to something else, even if that other object was of equal importance. Thus Earl Grey

was not favourably regarded by the colonists, apart from his measures with regard to convicts.

Memorials against the introduction of felons were circulated and signed everywhere throughout the country, and left Capetown for England on the 1st of January 1849. As Earl Grey, in his despatch of the 7th of August, had stated that he would not send out any convicts unless there should be a prevalent opinion in the colony in favour of the measure,—which was made known by public notice on the 14th of November,—it was now hoped that the matter was set at rest. The excitement revived, however, with tenfold force when on the 21st of March 1849 an announcement was made in the *Commercial Advertiser* at Capetown, taken over from an English newspaper of the 30th of December, that a ship with convicts from the model prison at Pentonville was on her way to Bermuda, there to take in others for the Cape of Good Hope.

During the period of the famine caused by the failure of the potato crop in Ireland, a number of persons were convicted of agrarian offences, and were transported to Bermuda. But for some reason it was considered advisable or necessary to remove them, and the transport *Neptune* was sent to convey them to the Cape. The character of these men was less objectionable than that of any other class of convicts, as the crimes for which they were suffering had been committed under the pressure of want, and were such as in South Africa they would be free of all temptation to repeat. But the principle of receiving them was the same as if they had been criminals of the deepest dye, and if they were permitted to land, the door would be open to as many as England might choose to send thereafter.

It is hardly possible to conceive of men placed in a more embarrassing position than were the colonists at this juncture, when a choice had to be made between submission to the will of the secretary of state or resistance to his authority. The strong desire of the great majority was to remain loyal to the empire. A large part of the east was English in

blood, language, and sentiment. And if in the west men mostly spoke Dutch, they appreciated the advantages of English protection, of English ships to guard the coasts, of English soldiers in time of war. It was to be feared that this protection might be withdrawn, that England might fortify Simon's Bay, and while retaining it as a naval station, abandon the remainder of the country as a punishment for opposition. There were not wanting members of the imperial parliament who were prepared to approve of such a step as the easiest way of getting rid of all responsibility with regard to colonial defence. Here was a danger standing out before the loyal people of South Africa. They perhaps could not see it as distinctly in 1849 as a few years later, when British sovereignty was actually withdrawn from an African dependency as large as England itself; but that such a policy was openly advocated by a powerful party at home, and might at any moment be carried out, was known to all. Of the two dangers, however, this was regarded as the least. And so the colonists resolved to trust to English honour and English interest not to desert them, while they opposed in every way short of rebellion the minister's attempt to force convicts upon them.

In the general excitement which the announcement of the 21st of March occasioned, it was some days before the people of the Cape peninsula could decide upon the course to be pursued. At length, on the suggestion of Mr. John Fairbairn, editor of the *Commercial Advertiser*, the following pledge was drawn up and placed in the Commercial Exchange for signature:—

"CAPE TOWN, *5th April*, 1849.

"The undersigned Inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope, having heard that, in violation of the pledge given by Lord Grey, Secretary of State for the Colonies, conveyed to the Colonists through His Excellency the Governor, his Lordship has resolved to convert this Colony into a Penal Settlement, on the worst and most dangerous principles, in defiance of the petitions and remonstrances of Her Majesty's faithful

subjects presented to Her Majesty in 1842,—and said to have been graciously received, and also to both Houses of Parliament,—

"We hereby declare and solemnly promise to each other, and to all our fellow Colonists, that we will not employ in any capacity, or receive on any terms into our establishments, any one of the Convicted Felons, whom the Secretary of State for the Colonies has ordered to be transported to our shores and turned loose among us, under the designation of 'Exiles' or Convicts holding Tickets of Leave.

"And we hereby call upon his Excellency the Governor, in the exercise of that discretionary power with which the Governor of every distant Colony is virtually invested, for the protection of his province against sudden or unforeseen dangers—to prohibit and prevent the landing at any port or place within the Colony, of any such Convicted Felons, and to convey to Her Majesty, by the first opportunity, this expression of the grief, shame, and indignation which this breach of faith, on the part of the Secretary for the Colonies, has filled every loyal heart."

As intelligence was received from the country districts it became known that the European inhabitants practically to a man were united on this question, and delegates from all quarters were sent to Capetown, where on the 19th of May over five thousand men assembled on the grand parade and without a single dissentient voice declared themselves opposed to the reception of convicts. A committee—termed the Anti-convict Association,—with Mr. John Bardwell Ebden as its chairman, was elected to direct the movement, and a new and more stringent pledge was adopted. It read as follows:—

"We, the Undersigned, Colonists and Inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope, hereby solemnly declare and pledge our faith to each other, that we will not employ, or knowingly admit into our Establishments or Houses, work with or for, or associate with, any convicted Felon or Felons sent to this Colony under Sentence of Transportation, and that we will discountenance and drop connection with any

Person who may assist in landing, supporting, or employing such convicted Felons."

On the 15th of June a message was sent by the governor to the legislative council, which was then in session, announcing that on the preceding evening he had received despatches from Earl Grey containing instructions for the reception of the convicts from Bermuda, which it would be his duty to carry out. Every member of the council was opposed to the measure, and it was known that the governor personally objected to it as strongly as the colonists. It was therefore hoped that he would take the responsibility of suspending the order in council, but this he declined to do, and in consequence lost for a time a good deal of his popularity. On the 11th of July, however, he stated his intention of keeping the convicts in the ship after her arrival until further instructions concerning their disposal should be received from Earl Grey.

And now petitions to the queen, to the parliament, and to the people of England poured in from all parts of the country, pleading that the colony should not be ruined by the introduction of criminals who would not only bring a stain upon the character of its white inhabitants, but would be likely to lead the coloured people into all kinds of vice. Many justices of the peace and fieldcornets resigned their offices, with a view of creating a deadlock in the government. Messrs. Hamilton Ross, John Bardwell Ebden, Henry Cloete, and William Matthew Harries,* unofficial members of the legislative council, with the same object resigned their seats. Messrs. Abraham de Smidt, Pieter Laurens Cloete, and Jacob Letterstedt, to whom the governor offered three of the vacant places, declined to accept them.

The different banks and insurance offices published notices that they would transact no business whatever with any

* Mr. Harries was appointed on the 19th of January 1848, as successor to Mr. P. V. van der Byl, who had died.

person who employed a convict. The owners of hire houses in Capetown advertised to the same effect. The bakers refused to tender for supplies of biscuit needed by the commissariat, for fear it might be used to feed convicts. A great meeting was held at Malmesbury, and when it was over the whole assembly, with the Dutch clergyman at its head, proceeded to the church and solemnly committed its cause to the Almighty God.

At daybreak on the 20th of September the sounding of the fire alarm gong of the town house, followed by the tolling of the bells of the English, Dutch, and Lutheran churches, announced to the inhabitants of Capetown that the *Neptune* had arrived in South African waters. She had sailed from Bermuda on the 22nd of April, but owing to sickness having broken out among the prisoners, had been detained some time at Pernambuco, which port she left on the 11th of August, and anchored in Simon's Bay at ten o'clock in the evening of the 19th of September. She had two hundred and eighty-two convicts on board, with two officers and forty-seven rank and file of the 91st regiment as guards. The information was communicated as rapidly as possible to the most distant parts of the colony, where it was received as if it had been a report of the outbreak of the plague.

At an early hour an excited crowd poured into Greenmarket square, in which the old town house stands, and there awaited till after midday the governor's reply to a letter that the commissioners of the municipality had addressed to him, almost demanding that the *Neptune* should be instantly ordered away. His Excellency answered that to do this was beyond his power. Next morning a monster meeting was held, when a letter written by Mr. J. B. Ebden, chairman of the anti-convict association, was approved of. In it his Excellency was informed that "the words of the pledge, to drop connection with any person who should assist in supporting convicted felons, included all departments of the government by, or through,

or under the authority of which, supplies of any kind might be conveyed to the *Neptune*, until that vessel's destination should be changed."

By the governor's orders no one was allowed to land from the ship,—and indeed had any one ventured to do so he must have perished of hunger or have committed some act to be sent to prison,—but to the urgent entreaties of the colonists that she should be sent away, as they feared that the secretary of state would not relent and might even grant the convicts a free pardon in order to enable them to settle in the country, Sir Harry Smith replied that if he were to do so the further detention of the prisoners on board would be illegal, and consequently his duty to the imperial authorities would not admit of his acting in accordance with their wishes.

On the 10th of October twelve individuals—Messrs. Benjamin Norden, B. Alexander, Jacob Letterstedt, Edward J. Hanbury, Richard Clarence, Esau Harrington, Adriaan Beck, S. Osler, C. Stadler, Paul Bester, Jan Thuynsma, and Captain Robert Stanford—who were suspected of furnishing the government departments with provisions were denounced in the press, and were at once ostracised from society by their fellow citizens. An innkeeper even who furnished Captain Stanford with a meal found his house at once abandoned, and was obliged to close his business. Six years later, learning that the contractor to supply meat to the naval establishment in Simonstown and the ships of war had received a pension from parliament owing to his loss through not carrying out his agreement at this time, he applied also for compensation, but was only laughed at. A considerable sum of money was subscribed by wealthy persons to indemnify those who should sustain pecuniary loss by adhering faithfully to the pledge, but this did not meet such cases as that of the contractor here mentioned.

On the 11th of October the anti-convict association resolved that the whole of the stores and shops in the

peninsula should be closed to every one but known customers, and that all intercourse with the government should be suspended. This was immediately done, and much of the business ordinarily carried on ceased entirely. The governor announced that he would use force, if necessary, to prevent the troops and civil servants from being starved, but he managed to obtain supplies without having recourse to extreme measures, chiefly through the agency of Captain Robert Stanford, a resident of Caledon, who was afterwards made a knight for his services to the imperial authorities on this occasion. A little later, however, Sir Robert published a volume concerning his affairs, in which he complained of having been utterly ruined in pocket by the attitude of his neighbours and earlier friends towards him. He was then rewarded by a grant of £5,000.

This condition of things evoked a spirit of lawlessness. On the 15th of October there was a good deal of rioting in Capetown, and several persons were assaulted. Late in the evening some twelve or thirteen negroes who had been temporarily thrown out of employment by the cessation of business, led by a couple of disguised white men, attacked the residence of Mr. John Fairbairn at Sea Point. This gentleman was the secretary and one of the most active members of the anti-convict association, and as such was regarded by the ignorant blacks as the cause of their being without anything to do, certainly not a common grievance with men of their class. Mr. Fairbairn received some severe injuries, and his house was utterly wrecked before his neighbours could gather to his assistance, when the rioters withdrew. Most of them had been recognised, and were afterwards arrested and brought to trial on the charge of housebreaking, theft, and assault with intent to commit murder. They were found guilty, but escaped punishment, owing to the discovery that one of the jurymen had personated his brother who had been summoned.

Week after week passed away, and Capetown remained like a city on the sabbath, with its ordinary occupations

suspended. Money was raised by subscription, and the unemployed were provided for, so that there was no longer a fear of riots and disorder. In December came a repetition of an earlier assurance by Earl Grey that there was no intention of sending any more convicts to the Cape, but the colonists did not relax their vigilance for a moment, nor waver in their determination that not one should be landed if they could prevent it. This perseverance had its reward. At last, on the 13th of February 1850, a despatch was received by the governor from the secretary of state, dated the 30th of the preceding November, instructing him to send the *Neptune* to Van Diemen's Land, where the convicts on board were to receive a conditional pardon, and to be liberated. She sailed in the morning of the 21st of February.

The long vigil was over, and everywhere there was rejoicing. Capetown was illuminated that night, and the streets were filled with people congratulating each other that the colony had been saved from pollution. To God who had given them grace to act as they had done their humble thanks were due. And so Friday, the 8th of March 1850, was observed as a day of general thanksgiving to the Almighty for the deliverance of the country from the calamity with which it had been threatened.

A small sum of money—£100—was subscribed in Capetown and sent on board the *Neptune* to be distributed among the convicts on their arrival in Van Diemen's Land, but beyond that no pity was manifested for them, more on account of the principle that was being contended for than owing to disregard of the fact that many—perhaps most—of these men were not criminals in the ordinary sense of the word. Mr. C. B. Adderley, a member of the house of commons, had advocated the South African cause in a very able manner, and it was felt that some fitting acknowledgment should be made to him. Accordingly the municipality of Capetown voted £100 to purchase a piece of plate as a testimony of their gratitude, and to the principal street in

the city, which for nearly two centuries had been called the Heeregracht, his name was given.

Among the prisoners in the *Neptune* was the celebrated John Mitchell, and, apart from his political opinions, few men could have been less criminally disposed than he. To such a man it must have been galling that he was considered unworthy to set foot on South African soil, yet he wrote afterwards applauding the members of the anti-convict association for what they had done in defence of their honour.*

The action of the colonists at this time not only prevented the country being made a penal settlement, but created a respect for themselves in England greater than they had previously enjoyed. They had gone further perhaps than was necessary to secure their object, and they had acted in a highhanded and intolerant manner towards all who did not fully agree with them in the method of bringing pressure to bear upon the government, as is customary with people everywhere when in a state of excitement, still the spectacle exhibited by them was that of an earnest, united, intelligent people guarding fearlessly its honour and its purity, a spectacle that could not but command the esteem of Englishmen. Men who could act as they had done had unquestionably risen to a high moral and intellectual standard, and had shown that they were worthy of being entrusted with their own government.

In the northwest of the Cape Colony there is a belt of land which is almost a desert. From the margin of the great plateau known as Bushmanland, it falls away by a series of steps to the shore of the Atlantic. A long, narrow belt, twenty thousand square miles in extent, it presents to the eye nothing but a succession of hill and gorge and sandy plain, all bare and desolate except when heavy rains produce a temporary carpeting of flowers. But this is

* In 1853 he made his escape from Van Diemen's Land, and reached San Francisco safely, where he was very warmly welcomed by the Irish residents and those who sympathised with them.

seldom, for the fall of rain and dew together scarcely exceeds four or five inches in the year. A land of drought and famine, of blinding glare and fiery blast, such is the country of the Little Namaquas. From time immemorial it had been the home of a few thousand Hottentots, who were almost safe in such a desert from European intrusion. Half a dozen missionaries and fifty or sixty farmers and traders were the sole representatives of civilisation among these wandering savages.

Yet few parts of the world are richer in mineral wealth than this inhospitable, uninviting region. On its eastern side, at an elevation of something like three thousand feet above the surface of the sea, are enormous masses of ore, some of which are capable of yielding thirty per cent of copper. At various points along that ridge, for a distance of at least one hundred and twenty miles, these lodes are found scattered. Here it was that the natives obtained metal for their rude trinkets long before Van Riebeek planted the Netherland flag on the shore of Table Bay. From this source came the copper which, being spread among the south-western tribes in small quantities by means of barter and war, attracted the attention of early Dutch rulers, and caused Simon van der Stel to leave his quarters in the castle and make a wearisome journey to what was then the far and unknown north. The metal bearing country was discovered, but the steep declivities, the frightful ravines, the wastes of sand, were physical obstacles at that time too great to be overcome in getting the ore to the sea.

In 1837 Captain James Alexander, a British military officer who travelled through the country to Walfish Bay, sent some specimens of ore to Mr. George Thompson, a merchant in Capetown. They had been obtained on the southern bank of the Orange river, about eighty miles from the sea. The best of these specimens were assayed by Sir John Herschel, at Mr. Thompson's request, and were found to contain sixty-five per cent of pure copper. The remaining specimens were taken to London by Mr. Samuel Bennett, and

were submitted to an assayer in Hatton Garden, who certified that they contained a percentage of 27·875 pure copper. Mr. Bennett tried to form a company in England to work the mines, but did not succeed.

At the beginning of 1846 an association, with a capital of £1,000, was formed in Capetown to explore the district and ascertain if mining would likely prove remunerative, but the reports from the persons who were sent for this purpose were not very favourable. After this there is much uncertainty as to how, when, and by whom the idea of working the mines was taken up, as many persons laid claim to the distinction of having been next in the field. It may have suggested itself to several individuals at the same, or nearly the same time. This much is certain, that in 1848 a lease of ground for mining purposes was obtained from a Hottentot chief by Mr. Donald McDougall, who was then the proprietor of a trading establishment at Alexander Bay, near the mouth of the Orange river. The ground thus obtained was situated on the south bank of the river, about sixty miles above its mouth. The fact that such a lease had been acquired was known to several merchants in Capetown, though no immediate use was made of it. Six years later the Kodas mine was opened there by a Port Elizabeth Company that acquired Mr. McDougall's rights, and was found not to answer the expectations formed of it, though the river offered easy means of transport, as it is navigable from Missionary Drift close to the locality to within a few miles of its mouth.

In 1852 the firm of Philips and King, of Capetown, commenced operations at Springbokfontein, which was for a long time the most valuable mining centre known in the district. Soon afterwards a host of prospectors and explorers, bent upon discovering and appropriating copper mines, poured into Namaqualand. A perfect mania for forming companies set in, and quickly spread throughout the colony. They were called mining companies, though some were formed merely with a view of selling scrip,

and others had no intention of sinking a single shaft, for it was generally believed that there was sufficient ore on the surface of the ground to occupy all the labour that could be obtained for many years. And in the eagerness to secure shares, no one thought it worth while to ascertain whether this was fact or merely supposition.

This wild speculation reached its height in 1854, by which time companies had been formed in all the principal villages as far east as Grahamstown. Capetown decidedly took the lead in the matter. Shares in the Alliance, the Colonial, the Cape of Good Hope, the Eagle, the Equitable, the Nabas, the New Burra Burra, the No. 6, the South African, the Victoria, the Tradesmen's, the Union, the Western Province, and several more, were eagerly taken up. Even the usually quiet unexcitable Paarl had its mining company, called by its own name. Nor was Little Namaqualand the only field where it was imagined wealth could speedily be obtained. An association in Capetown sent prospectors north of the Orange, and under the name of the Walfish Bay mining company shipped several tons of ore from that district.

Parties of labourers were got together and sent by sea to Hondeklip Bay, many of them being under the charge of incompetent overseers. Some were sent to localities where there was not sufficient ore to meet the expense of removing it, others to places where there was no ore at all. The government directed a geologist to survey the district, but his report, which necessarily could not be sent in at once, was not waited for. Commander Nolloth was instructed by the commodore on the station to make a careful examination of the coast in her Majesty's brig of war *Frolic*, and particularly to ascertain if there was any safe harbour on it. He found none better than Hondeklip Bay, which afforded shelter for boats while vessels larger than small cutters were obliged to anchor off it in the open sea, and Robbe Bay, which was similar in character. To the last mentioned his name was given by the governor

in March 1855, and it has ever since been termed Port Nolloth.

In 1855 the bubble burst. A feverish anxiety to dispose of shares prevailed for a time, and ended in the dissolution of most of the companies. A good deal of capital had been thrown away, many grand expectations had been shattered, but the colony had added to its exports an article that is now worth over £300,000 a year.

For, amidst the general failures, two companies had achieved a splendid success. The mine of Springbokfontein, owned by Messrs. Philips and King, proved to be immensely rich and productive, as did also the mine of Spektakel, shortly afterwards acquired by the same firm. The only difficulty experienced was in the matter of transport, for the animal power of the country was insufficient to convey the ore to the coast as fast as it could be got ready. Mules were imported, but as their forage had to be brought from distant parts of the colony, the expense of keeping them was very great. Still before 1871 all the ore that reached the sea was brought down by mules or oxen. Some years before that date the firm of Philips and King had transferred their property in Namaqualand to the Cape Copper Mining Company, that in 1869 commenced the construction of a narrow gauge railway from Port Nolloth to Ookiep.

Another firm—Messrs. Prince, Collison & Co., of Capetown,—was successful in working the Concordia mine, but its operations were on a smaller scale than those just mentioned. This firm subsequently disposed of its rights to the Namaqualand Mining Company, which is still actively engaged in the district.

The progress of the new industry is shown in the following returns of exports, issued by the custom house. In 1852 thirty-one tons of ore were sent to England, in 1853 one hundred and ninety-nine tons, in 1854 one thousand and eighty-four tons, and in 1855 one thousand eight hundred and ninety-three tons.

The government when issuing licenses to mining companies did all that was possible to protect the rights of the Hottentot and Bushman occupants of the district, but these certainly were not benefited by the influx of so many strangers of loose habits. As for the farmers who had been living there, many of them did not attempt to accommodate themselves to the new order of things, but moved away to the territory between the Vaal and the Orange, where they could hope to continue the quiet kind of life to which they were attached.

The opening of the copper mines had no effect whatever upon the great majority of the people of the Cape Colony, who remained a purely agricultural and pastoral community. After the industry became settled, the white labour employed was obtained from Cornwall, and the district was as secluded, owing to its physical features and its barrenness, as if it had been an island. The mines indeed provided a small market for Cape produce, but that was sent by sea from Capetown to Hondeklip Bay or Port Nolloth, and the farmers came no closer in contact with the consumers than did the Malay fishermen on the south-western coast with the labourers on the sugar plantations of Mauritius for whose use they dried snoek and geelbek.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

SIR HENRY G. W. SMITH, GOVERNOR AND HIGH COMMISSIONER—(*continued*).

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL THE HONOURABLE GEORGE CATHCART, GOVERNOR AND HIGH COMMISSIONER, ASSUMED DUTY 31ST MARCH 1852, RETIRED 26TH MAY 1854.

THE EIGHTH KAFFIR WAR, OR THE GREAT NATIVE REBELLION.

DURING 1848 and 1849 as far as could be seen everything worked smoothly in British Kaffraria, but all the time the Gaikas regarded the apparent settlement as a mere truce, and were making preparations for a renewal of the conflict. The military force in the territory was not strong enough to overawe them, and without physical power they could not be kept in restraint. The sympathy of the Kaffir police was entirely with their countrymen, so that no dependence should have been placed upon them. Then the Gaikas were still in possession of the Amatola, and as long as these fastnesses remained in their hands they could not forget their former independence. Too much also was expected from the chiefs. That men in their position and with their training should submit to the loss of absolute power, without any adequate compensation, could only result from necessity, and ought not to have been expected under the circumstances.

The attempt to suppress punishment of persons accused by witchfinders of dealing in sorcery, and the denunciation of the witchfinders as criminals, kept the whole body of the

people in a state of constant alarm. It can easily be understood that the chiefs would be opposed to such a restriction, because by it they lost the principal source of their revenue. But that the people—especially those possessing property, and who were therefore themselves in perpetual danger of torture and violent death on the mere charge of a witchfinder—should have opposed it also, may seem most strange. The reason is to be found in their belief concerning sorcery. With them there was no question, not the shadow of a doubt, that evil disposed persons could and did bewitch others, thereby causing sickness and death. Their knowledge of different kinds of poisons, and the use frequently made of them, tended to confirm this belief. It followed as a corollary that the new government, by preventing the punishment of such supposed malevolent persons, was wantonly exposing the people to destruction. This was their view of the case, similar to what ours would be if assassins were permitted by law to wander about unmolested and constables were punished for arresting criminals.

In the winter of the year 1850 the frontier colonists were forced to the belief that another struggle with the Kaffirs was at hand. At the instigation of the Gaika chiefs, or at least with their concurrence, an individual who claimed to possess supernatural power was busy preparing their people for war. This man's name was Umlanjeni. The chiefs patronised him, the people gave credit to his wild predictions of superhuman aid in driving the white man into the sea. They believed that certain charms which he gave them would prevent musket balls from hurting them, and would cause cattle to follow them wherever they chose to lead. The farmers saw their servants returning to Kaffirland at the call of Umlanjeni, and they suspected what was coming. The governor, who thought the fears of the colonists were only imaginary, left Capetown on the 15th of October to visit the frontier, and sent an invitation to the chiefs to meet him on the 26th of that month at King-Williamstown. On the day appointed not a single Gaika chief of any

importance was present, and many of the others also failed to attend. Sandile stated afterwards that he feared he would be made a prisoner if he met the governor, but this was a mere attempt to furnish an excuse. Only a few captains of inferior rank appeared, with petty bands of attendants, three hundred and forty individuals in all.

This conduct was naturally regarded as equivalent to a direct defiance of the government. Any Kaffir chief, whose subordinates neglected to appear when summoned to a place of conference, would regard and treat them as rebels. Sir Harry, however, still believed that he could intimidate the Xosas, and with this object on the 30th of October he issued a proclamation deposing Sandile from his position as head of the Gaika clans and appointing Mr. Charles Brownlee in his stead. Then, as no rising actually took place, the governor, after making a few trifling arrangements for the conduct of affairs, returned to Capetown.

The official deposition of Sandile and his replacement by a European had not the slightest effect upon a single Kaffir. Mr. Brownlee was born and brought up among them, being a son of the first missionary who settled at the Tyumie, he was as conversant with their language as with English or Dutch, and as his mother was a Dutch colonial woman he had equal sympathy with the three nationalities in the country. He was also an able and highminded man, and, what was of great importance from a Kaffir point of view, large in person and an athlete in strength. Further than this, he was regarded by the Gaikas almost as one of themselves. They believed that his mother had been long childless, and that a native doctor had given her a charm made of hairs from the tail of a heifer, with the result that he was born.* There was at the time no other man in

*I was first informed of this by the chief Oba, and on my throwing doubts upon it he maintained that it was certainly true, and that Mr. Brownlee was therefore in a manner a Gaika. I afterwards inquired of many old men, and met with the reply that everybody knew it was so. Very strange to our ideas are some of he wild fancies that influence these people, but they cannot be ignored or laughed at by those who desire to guide them into clearer light.

South Africa so well qualified in every essential respect for the position assigned to him. But, though a European may acquire enormous influence with Bantu, he can never replace a chief who is still living, and that for the simple reason that he cannot occupy the position in their religion that the hereditary ruler holds, for he is not the descendant and representative of the object of their worship. And so Mr. Brownlee could do nothing to bring the Xosas to a different frame of mind.

The governor returned to Capetown, believing that there was not the slightest cause for alarm. He relied so much upon the prestige of his name, and was so thoroughly convinced that the Kaffirs appreciated the civilising tendencies of English rule, that he would not permit any steps to be taken which would imply the possibility of another war. But he had scarcely reached the seat of government when he received accounts which caused him to hasten back again at the head of all the troops available. His arrival at King-Williamstown with these reinforcements would, he felt sure, prevent any disturbances that might have been in contemplation. Sandile had in the meantime taken up his residence in a thicket at the Rabula, in the wild forest land of hill and glen along the head waters of the Keiskama; and as he would not appear at King-Williamstown, on the 20th of December he and his equally refractory brother Anta were outlawed. The attempt to substitute a European for a chief was abandoned, and the government of the two clans was entrusted to Sutu, great widow of Gaika, with the title of regent. A body of counsellors, supposed to be attached to the European interest, was appointed to assist her.

At daylight in the morning of the 24th of December 1850 a column of troops seven hundred strong, consisting of detachments of the 6th, 45th, and 73rd regiments of foot and of the Cape mounted rifles, left Fort Cox on the Keiskama, and proceeded up the river. The patrol was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Mackinnon, and was

accompanied by a large party of the Kaffir police. The objects of this movement were, first, to arrest the deposed chiefs or drive them from their lurking place, second, to dispel the fears of the farmers by making what was expected to be a peaceful march through the wildest part of the country. It would be a test of the perfect submission of the Kaffirs, for up to this moment the governor did not believe that they had any intention of beginning another war. So deceived was he, indeed, that the infantry were not permitted to load their muskets, lest some untoward accident should take place in the event of Kaffirs being met with. The police, whose treachery he did not suspect, knew the particulars of the expedition and the line of march long enough before they set out to communicate the information to their countrymen.

After proceeding some miles along the footpaths, in the course of the morning the patrol reached the Boomah pass, a rugged defile between precipitous bush-covered ridges, so narrow that the horsemen could not move two abreast. Some Kaffirs were seen on the hills, but as yet no shot had been fired. The police entered the pass first, then the Cape corps, and afterwards the infantry. Just as the last horseman was through, an attack was made upon the line by thousands of Kaffirs who were lying in ambush behind rocks and in thickets. Sandile himself, who, owing to one of his legs being withered, never personally took part in an engagement, had just left the place with two of his councillors. The troops charged into the thickets and fought their way through with a loss of twenty-three killed and as many wounded. That night they rested in the open air at Keiskama Hoek, with their muskets at their sides, and next day they made a circuit to Fort White, a post several miles to the eastward of Fort Cox. On the way, at the Debe Nek, they found the remains of fifteen men of the 45th, stripped and horribly mutilated. A small patrol had been surprised, when every man was put to death without mercy. In this manner the eighth Kaffir war commenced. Before

midnight of the 24th it was known to all the clans west of the Kei, by the signal fires that flashed the information from peak to peak.

Another inhuman massacre took place on Christmas day. The Gaikas were particularly embittered against the military settlers on the western bank of the Tyumie, because those people were occupying what had once been their favourite lands. A great deal of ill-feeling had also been caused by the impounding of cattle trespassing on gardens. The kraals of Oba, son of Tyali, were on the eastern side of the valley, and his herds frequently crossed over the river, when they were driven to the pound and trespass fees were charged. Another cause of enmity was the removal by some soldiers of a pot from the grave of the chief Tyali, which was regarded as an act of sacrilege. The defenceless state of the military villages in the Tyumie valley was, however, the principal cause of their male inhabitants being doomed to death by the Kaffirs. Some time previous much uneasiness had been felt on account of the warlike preparations in the neighbourhood, but the authorities had asserted so positively there was no cause for alarm that the villagers had allowed their fears to subside.

On Christmas morning a patrol of three men of the Cape corps was sent from Fort Hare to warn the people of danger, by announcing that war had commenced; but the message was too late. About nine o'clock a horde of warriors armed with guns and assagais appeared at Woburn, the central village. The officer in charge, Stacey by name, with thirteen or fourteen followers made a gallant resistance, but in a few minutes every man was killed. The cottages were then set on fire, after which a party was detached to destroy Juanasburg, while the remainder proceeded towards Auckland. Woburn was situated on a gentle slope in the centre of the valley, facing Juanasburg, which was four or five miles farther down. The last named village was built on a plateau commanding an extensive view, so that the residents, seeing the smoke of Woburn, became alarmed, and as soon

as the Kaffirs appeared, most of them fled and reached Alice in safety. Three men, however, were overtaken and murdered. The village was given to the flames.

At the head of the valley, in an amphitheatre formed by the Amatola, lay the village of Auckland. A more romantic and beautiful situation cannot be imagined, but the site was bad for defensive purposes. The rich land, the winding stream, the cascades that came tumbling over the cliffs behind, the patches of dark evergreen forest on the slopes, the grey rock towering far overhead, all gave beauty, but not strength. Behind and on each side the mountains were almost too steep to be scaled, while in front a low ridge extending nearly across the valley entirely shut out the view. Auckland was so secluded that the villagers could not see the smoke of Woburn, and so situated that escape was impossible from a foe coming up the valley.

No danger was apprehended by the doomed people, who were not at their usual work in the forest or in the fields, as it was Christmas day. When the Kaffirs made their appearance no alarm was felt, as they had often visited the village in large parties before. Their leader, Xayimpi by name, a councillor and captain under Oba, was very well known to every one at the place. He sat down, and began to ask in the usual manner for different things, a visitor of this kind being always a persistent beggar. His followers spread themselves about the village without causing any suspicion. A Hottentot woman arrived a little later, and stated that as she was coming over the ridge she saw thick smoke rising from Woburn, still no one imagined what had caused it. Mr. Farquhar Munro was at the time acting superintendent of the village. He chatted a little with Xayimpi through an interpreter, and then left him talking to one of the residents' wives. All, whites and blacks, were in the open air on that clear sunny day. It was about two o'clock in the afternoon, when suddenly Xayimpi sprang to his feet, threw off his kaross, and whistled shrilly. The Kaffirs, on this signal, instantly attacked the

defenceless people, and murdered the greater number of the men. The others managed to get their muskets and some ammunition, and with the women and children rushed to a dilapidated building, once intended to be a fort, where they defended themselves until three o'clock in the following afternoon. Then their ammunition failed, and they were at the mercy of the barbarians. The women and children, after being stripped nearly naked, were allowed to leave the place, but the men were cruelly murdered.* The village, after being plundered, was given to the flames. In all, on the Keiskama and the Tyumie, eighty-four lives were sacrificed to the fury of the Kaffirs during the first three days of the insurrection.

On the western side of the valley, a couple of miles from Woburn, was the mission station Gwali, then occupied by the reverend Mr. Cumming. It was the oldest station among the Kaffirs, having been founded in 1820 by Mr. Brownlee for the colonial government. After its formation Gaika promised that it should be considered a sanctuary, and though it had been abandoned in previous wars, it now served as a secure retreat for all who could reach it. On Christmas day the reverend Mr. Niven arrived there with his family, also five European men, and the three soldiers of the Cape corps who had been sent up the valley in the morning with the notice of danger. Two of the men were naked when they reached the station, having been stripped by the Kaffirs, but not otherwise injured. On the following day the women and children from Auckland, some thirty in number, reached the place nearly naked, in great distress of mind, and half famished, having been over thirty hours without food. Once there, they were safe, and were sheltered by the missionary until they could leave without danger. The station was of necessity abandoned in February, 1852,

* Xayimpi was made a prisoner some years later, but it was decided that under a proclamation issued by the governor on the conclusion of hostilities he could not be tried for these murders. In 1857, however, he was convicted of another offence, and was sentenced to imprisonment with hard labour for fourteen years.

when it was destroyed, and it has never since been occupied.*

At the time of these occurrences Sir Harry Smith was at Fort Cox, which was immediately besieged by the whole power of the enemy. On the 29th Colonel Somerset, with two hundred men of the 91st and the Cape corps, together with a party of Fingos, attempted to relieve the governor, but failed. After proceeding some six or seven miles from Fort Hare, he encountered such numbers of Kaffirs that he considered it necessary to retreat. When falling back, the patrol was vigorously pressed by the enemy, and the soldiers were seized with such a panic that they became incapable of resistance. Two officers and twenty men were killed, and if a party of the 45th had not been sent out to their relief, the whole of the rear guard would probably have been cut to pieces. On the 30th his Excellency resolved to liberate himself. At the head of two hundred and fifty Cape mounted riflemen he made a dash through the enemy, and succeeded in reaching King-Williamstown in safety.

Many of the Kaffir police had by this time deserted, and had gone over to their countrymen with their arms and their horses. There is reason to believe that those who accompanied Colonel Mackinnon's expedition on the 24th would have done so at the Boomah pass, if their wives and children had not been at Fort Cox at the time. Two days later ninety of them deserted in a body, and these were followed by all the others, except fifty belonging to friendly clans who remained faithful throughout the rebellion. Then followed the usual accompaniment of a Kaffir war, a raid into the colony. Again the frontier districts were overrun and laid waste, the farmers being compelled to flee for their lives, leaving all they could not carry away to be destroyed.

* The station Macfarlan, belonging to the free church of Scotland, is within a short distance of Gwali. It was founded for the benefit of the Fingos, who were located in the valley after the expulsion of the Xosas. For many years it was occupied by the reverend Alexander McDiarmid, but since 1876 has been under the care of the reverend Elijah Makiwane, a native ordained clergyman of much talent and industry.

In this war the Amararabe were somewhat differently divided from what they had been in the past. The principal clans in arms against the colony were: the Gaikas, under Sandile, Makoma, Anta, and Oba; the Imidange, under Tola; the Amambala, under Stokwe; and a few of the Imidushane, under Siyolo. Those that remained faithful to their promise of allegiance were: the Amagunukwebe, under Pato and Kama, the clan of the Amandlambe under Umkayi, and the clan of the Imidushane under Siwani. All these did good service on the English side. Pato kept the main road near East London open, and furnished escorts for waggon trains. Kama was of great assistance in the defence of Whittlesea. Umkayi was useful in bringing slaughter cattle from Fort Peddie to King-Williamstown, and Siwani conveyed the mails over the same line of road when it was closed to the ordinary posts. Umhala professed to be sitting still, but many of his people were with the Gaikas. He took care of their own cattle and also of those which they brought out of the colony, in consequence of which Sir Harry Smith fined him a thousand head. Throughout the rebellion he acted a suspicious part, but was never openly in arms. Tshatshu undertook to keep open the road between King-Williamstown and Fort Murray. But many of his people were with the enemy, and his own behaviour was such that the governor deprived him of a portion of the ground which had been allotted to him in 1848.

The remaining petty Rarabe clans, an enumeration of whose titles and chiefs would only cause confusion, were ranged, some on one side, some on the other, according to their location. All the clans along the Amatola and in the remaining portion of what was termed the Gaika country were in rebellion, while those on the seaboard were either neutral or were engaged on the colonial side. That none of those located along the coast took an active part in the rebellion was mainly owing to the judicious conduct of Captain John Maclean, commissioner with the Ndlambe clans, who had acquired great influence with them.

The Galekas, under Kreli, were aiders and abettors of the insurgents. The Tembus were divided into two sections. One, under the regency of Nonesi, the mother of their infant chief, took no part in the war, and, to avoid becoming mixed up with it in any way, moved eastward to the Bashee. The other section—the emigrant Tembus under Mapasa—sided with the rebels. The Fingos without exception fought on the British side.

But to the old enemies of the Europeans was now added a new ally, more formidable because better disciplined than they. The rebellion of a large number of Hottentots made this the most expensive and destructive of all the wars yet waged in South Africa. No reasonable cause for the treason of these people has ever been put forward by any of their number, though paltry excuses—such as the delay of the government to give them titles to their lands and inadequate payment for their services in former wars,—which turn to nothing when strictly investigated, have been made by a few Europeans on their behalf. They were on a perfect political equality with the white man, and had every inducement to remain loyal which the possession of liberty and complete protection of property could hold out. But they had heard so often that they were an oppressed people, and had been taught so carefully not to look to the government but to certain missionaries for advocacy of the redress of their supposed grievances, that they had become discontented and morose. The feeling was widespread among the colonists that agents of the London missionary society were accountable for the defection, though no one accused them of deliberately encouraging treason. That the doctrine of social equality, which some of them advocated, without reflecting upon the result to which it might lead, led to disaffection cannot be denied. The rebellion was a terrible lesson for them, and their successors have profited by the experience it afforded. While it was in progress, on the 8th of May 1852 the reverend James Read, senior, died at the Kat river, and since his death the old opinions, which did

so much harm to the coloured people, have rarely been heard.

Some of the Hottentots entered deliberately into treason, but others followed their leaders without thought until they were too deeply involved to withdraw. The residents at the London mission station Theopolis and most of those at the station of the same society at the Kat river joined the Gaikas, and a considerable number deserted from the Cape mounted rifle regiment and went over to the enemy. At the Moravian station Shiloh most of the residents were Bantu, but there were some Hottentots among them, and these were successfully tampered with by emissaries from the rebels of the Kat river. The missionaries had hoped they would aid in defending the station, and they did assist in building some walls round the church, but in February 1851 they showed such a rebellious spirit that the place had to be abandoned by the Europeans. Thereupon it was plundered by the rebels, and then reduced to heaps of ruins.

But this defection did not extend to the whole race. The conduct of the men of the Cape corps, with the exception of those who deserted at the outbreak of the rebellion, was satisfactory, and numerous Hottentot levies from the western districts—especially from Genadendal—rendered good service to the colony throughout the war. The congregation of the reverend Mr. Thomson at the Kat river also remained faithful.

At a place called Blinkwater, in the vicinity of the Kat river settlement, there was living a man named Hermanus Matroos, who has been mentioned in a preceding chapter as assisting the government. He was the son of a Kaffir woman and a slave who had escaped from the colony. About him had collected a horde of Kaffirs and people of mixed Kaffir and Hottentot blood, who looked up to him as a sort of chief or leader. This man had received large grants of land from the government, but recently he had been compelled to pay quitrent, much against his will.

Before the outbreak of the rebellion he became an active partisan of the Gaika chiefs, and served as a means of communication between them and the Hottentots. He was one of the principal instigators of the insurrection, but was so crafty that he avoided drawing suspicion upon his conduct. An application for arms and ammunition which he made to the authorities, to aid, as he averred, in defending the border, would have been granted if there had been any to spare.

On the 7th of January 1851 with a horde of Kaffirs, Hottentots, and mixed breeds, he attacked the village of Fort Beaufort. A small garrison was stationed there, but the commanding officer thought it prudent to act on the defensive only, and remained in the military buildings to prevent the enemy gaining possession of them. The inhabitants, left thus to protect themselves and their property, acted in a most courageous manner. They met the assailants as became men to whom defeat meant certain destruction, and after a short but sharp action drove them from the village with a loss of fifty killed, including Hermanus himself.

Among the pensioners from the Cape mounted riflemen was a man named Willem Uithaalder, who was possessed of considerable ability and great ambition. He had no wrongs to avenge, but he had conceived the idea of the formation of an independent Hottentot nation, with himself as its head. This man was chosen as their leader by the rebel Hottentots, and round him rallied over a thousand of that people, all of whom were accustomed to the use of firearms. Some of them rivalled the Kaffirs in deeds of cruelty. The people of Theopolis had been suspected of treasonable intentions, and several of them had been disarmed shortly after the commencement of the rebellion, but they did not openly commit themselves until the end of May 1851. Very imprudently, some Fingos had been admitted as residents of the station, and the Hottentots, who regarded them as intruders, bore them no good will. The

Fingos, by their avaricious habits in trade, were rapidly acquiring possession of all the movable property at the place, and the Hottentots, though improvident to the last degree, saw with alarm that the time was approaching when they would be completely impoverished by the thrifty and clever-dealing newcomers. The same feeling existed, in short, that so frequently manifests itself among the peasantry of Eastern Europe towards the alien moneylenders who manage to live upon their industry. Early one morning the Hottentots raised an outcry, and as the Fingos rushed out of their huts to ascertain the cause of the disturbance, the rebels shot them down in cold blood.

The Kat river insurgents had taken possession of Fort Armstrong, and the first military movement on the government side was made to recover it. A strong force of burghers, levies, Cape mounted riflemen, and artillerymen with two guns, commanded by Major-General Somerset, attempted to do so on the 22nd of February 1851. The rebels resisted stubbornly, but after a severe engagement, in which three burghers were killed and fourteen wounded, they were driven out with heavy loss.

For several months nothing else could be done to check the movements of the enemy. The governor called the loyal inhabitants, both European and coloured, to arms, but some time elapsed before an adequate force could be collected on the frontier. The troops were too few in number to commence active operations until reinforcements should arrive. Under these circumstances, the eastern portion of the colony was at the mercy of the insurgents. They made a second raid into it, driving off great herds of cattle, sheep, and horses, and burning and pillaging the country on their line of march. Still, they met with several small reverses. The Tembus repeatedly attacked the village of Whittlesea, and were always driven back with loss. A good many Gaikas fell also in several petty engagements.

When intelligence reached Zululand that the Xosas and emigrant Tembus were at war with the Europeans, Panda

offered the government the services of his army. His soldiers were weary of peace, and longed to use their weapons again. Those internal commotions which a few years later led to fearful bloodshed were beginning to show themselves, and the old chief, who was sufficiently sagacious to perceive that a foreign war was the readiest means of diverting the people's attention from domestic affairs, was anxious to make use of the opportunity. There can be no doubt that a Zulu army would speedily have swept the Xosas and Tembus out of existence, but even if humanity had not forbidden its use, prudence dictated the inadvisability of bringing such a force to the colonial frontier. Panda's offer was therefore declined with thanks.

It was impossible to bring the enemy to a pitched battle, but towards the close of the year the different forests and jungles which they occupied were scoured, several of their strongholds were stormed, and many of their warriors were killed. The object of the governor was to force the Gaikas to retire over the Kei, but the area in which hostilities were carried on was so large that his efforts were fruitless. When driven out of one forest they took refuge in another, and as soon as the first was left by their pursuers they returned to it again. Most of their own cattle, together with those they had taken from the colonists, had been driven across the Kei and placed under the charge of Kreli.

In December 1851 two columns of troops were directed to that quarter, with the double object of punishing Kreli and depriving the rebels of their sources of supply. One of these columns, under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre, of the 73rd regiment, was crossing the lower ford of the Kei when it was attacked by the enemy, who had constructed breastworks to defend the passage of the river. A smart engagement followed, in which the soldiers were victorious, but so stubbornly were they met that more than a hundred of their opponents were killed before the remainder would retreat. The troops then scoured Kreli's country, doing great damage to the crops and kraals, and on several

occasions repulsing the Galekas with considerable loss. On the 11th of January 1852 the principal column, under Major-General Somerset, returned to King-Williamstown with thirty thousand head of cattle, besides a few horses and fourteen thousand goats. The other column left Butterworth on the 14th, and brought out seven thousand Fingos with fifteen thousand head of cattle which these people had seized from the Galekas, and were allowed to retain for themselves.

Christmas eve was kept in the colony as a day of solemn humiliation and prayer before God, in respect of His judgment of war upon the land. On this day the Tembus were defeated by a burgher force, when a great number fell, and some fine herds of cattle, horses, and sheep, as well as several stand of firearms, were captured.

Very few burghers had hitherto taken the field, as those of the eastern districts dared not leave their property unprotected, and those of the west had not been called out. Some volunteer companies had been formed and had done good service, but hostilities were carried on mainly by regular troops and Fingo and Hottentot levies. On the 6th of February 1852 the governor called upon the farmers of the frontier districts to assemble in commandos and assist in expelling the rebels from their fastnesses, but to this appeal only a small number responded, who in March aided in clearing the Waterkloof. Various causes have been assigned for the unwillingness of the burghers to take the field at this time, chief among which was that the Fingos were likely to reap all the benefit, while the white men were to sustain the danger and the loss.

The wreck of the steam transport *Birkenhead*, rendered memorable by the heroism of the soldiers on board, was one of the saddest events of this year. She was conveying reinforcements from Simon's Bay to the seat of war, when at two o'clock in the morning of the 26th of February, while steaming eight knots and a half an hour, she struck suddenly on a sunken rock off Danger Point, well away from the land, and tore open a great hole in her bottom.

The water rushed in so rapidly that many soldiers were drowned in their hammocks in the main hold. The others rushed on deck, where under the orders of Major Seaton, of the 74th, they drew up in as good order as if they had been on parade.

Two of the quarter boats were got out, in which seven women and thirteen children—all that were on board—with as many men as they could contain, embarked, and stood out to sea. The gig was also got out, and nine men embarked in her, who reached the land safely about thirty miles from the wreck. Twenty minutes after she struck the *Birkenhead* went to pieces. Part of the hull with the mainmast remained on the rock, and some forty or fifty men clung to the rigging. The others tried to get to the shore on pieces of wreckage, through a sea infested with sharks. At nine o'clock in the morning the two quarter boats were so fortunate as to fall in with the coasting schooner *Lioness*, when the people in them were taken on board, and the schooner proceeded to the wreck and rescued the men who were still in the rigging. One hundred and sixteen souls from the lost transport, most of them nearly naked, were then crowded together in the little craft, which was shortly afterwards taken in tow by the steamship *Rhadamanthus* and brought into Simon's Bay. Of those who attempted to get to the shore on pieces of wreckage, sixty-eight reached it alive, though more or less bruised; but all the others—nine officers and three hundred and forty-nine soldiers, with seventy-nine of the ship's crew—perished.

On the 14th of January 1852 Earl Grey recalled Sir Harry Smith, as he was not satisfied with the manner in which the war was being conducted, and thought it might speedily be brought to a close. Lieutenant-General the honourable George Cathcart was appointed to succeed him, and left England for that purpose as soon as possible. At the same time Mr. Charles Henry Darling was appointed lieutenant-governor, and Major-General Yorke second in

command of the troops. On the 31st of March the new governor arrived and took the oaths of office. Mr. Darling and General Yorke had arrived on the 24th.

Leaving the lieutenant-governor in Capetown to carry on the administration, General Cathcart embarked in the steamship *Styx* on the 5th of April, and reached King-Williamstown by way of East London a little before midnight on the 9th. Sir Harry Smith had already, on the 7th, bidden the troops farewell, and after a long interview with his successor, he left for Capetown. On the 17th of April he embarked in the steam frigate *Gladiator* to return to England. The whole population of the city and its suburbs assembled to bid godspeed to the man who had ever given his best thoughts to the welfare of South Africa, and who was now recalled for not doing what was impossible. Lady Smith was in tears, but the brave old general bore himself calmly until he was on board the *Gladiator*, when he retired at once to his cabin and broke down. His fault was being half a century in advance of his time. At six o'clock in the morning of the 18th the ship steamed out of the bay, and the connection of the able and popular governor with the country was ended.

At this time Sandile was still in possession of his old haunts in the Amatola. Makoma, with two or three thousand followers of his own, together with numerous rebel Hottentots and a band of Tembus, occupied the Kroome mountains, within the colonial boundary. From these fastnesses bands of marauders were continually harassing the country even as far distant as Cradock and Somerset. Siyolo, Stokwe, and Tola, aided also by rebel Hottentots and Tembus, held the jungles of the Fish river and nearly the whole of the division of Victoria East. Their bands were frequently swooping down upon the divisions of Fort Beaufort and Albany, carrying off all they could get hold of, and then retiring to their fastnesses so speedily as to defy pursuit. Umlanjeni was at the height of his glory, for the crops of maize and millet which had

been cut down by the troops early in the season had sprung up again, and he asserted that this was a miracle performed by himself. The Kaffirs believed him and were elated. The Tembus north of the Amatola were not yet entirely subdued, though they had been so far crushed that it was only owing to the presence of some rebel Hottentots among them that a difficulty remained in settling matters there. The farmers of Albert and Cradock were, however, still exposed to frequent inroads from parties of these marauders.

On the Galekas very little impression had yet been made. After the evacuation of his country by the troops in January, Kreli professed to be anxious for peace. He was informed by Sir Harry Smith that if he would pay fifteen hundred head of cattle as a fine for his destruction of mission and other property and as a mark of good faith, and would further cease from sheltering and aiding the Gaikas, he would not again be molested. But these terms he declined with disdain. Soon afterwards he took part in a raid into the colony, but was met by Captain Tylden at the head of a large force of burghers and native levies, and was driven back with great loss. Still he continued to be defiant, treating the governor's very moderate demands with scorn. Uithaalder seemed to be ubiquitous. He had his followers thoroughly organised and under control. He assumed the title of general, and sent word to the British commander that he was prepared to fight or make peace on equal terms. The troops were worn out by fifteen months of harassing guerilla warfare, and needed some repose. Especially, the cavalry horses were so thin as to be incapable of performing duty. A few weeks rest was necessary.

During this interval Sir George Cathcart was arranging for a vigorous campaign. At the outbreak of hostilities there were only four regiments—the 6th, 73rd, and the reserve battalions of the 45th and the 91st—in South Africa, the rifle brigade having left for England in June 1850. Earl Grey had not only refused to comply with Sir Henry Pottinger's request that he should ask the imperial parliament

to compensate the sufferers in the preceding war, but on the 31st of March 1848 had instructed Sir Harry Smith "distinctly (to) warn all those portions of the public whom it may concern not to expect that any new war can be carried on at the expense of this country" (*i.e.* Great Britain). It was not then anticipated that hostilities would break out before the introduction of representative government, when the colonists might reasonably be expected to protect their own inland borders. And now, in the time of need, aid was liberally furnished. In May 1851 the 74th highlanders arrived, in August the 2nd and 12th regiments of the line, in September the 60th rifles, in October the 12th lancers, and in December the 43rd foot. These were followed in March 1852 by the first battalion of the rifle brigade, the same that had left the colony twenty-one months before. The governor had thus eleven British regiments, besides artillerymen, engineers, and the reformed Cape corps at his disposal. Another addition to the force which, though small, must be mentioned, was a party of volunteers, enrolled in Capetown on military pay, under command of Mr. (afterwards Sir) Stephen B. Lakeman,* that arrived on the frontier in June 1852, and performed good service until the conclusion of hostilities.

As much of this force as could be spared from garrison duty was formed into two divisions, one, under command of Major-General Yorke, to whom it was intended to assign the duty of clearing the Amatola, the other, under command of Major-General Somerset, who was to be entrusted with the task of blockading the Kroome mountains and driving Makoma from the Waterkloof and other fastnesses there, which that chief had hitherto held with the utmost tenacity, though they had been scoured again and again. These arrangements were, however, subsequently considerably altered.

* Sir Stephen Lakeman, in the spirit of adventure, subsequently entered the Turkish service, in which he acquired greater distinction than in the Kaffir war.

The governor saw that it was useless to drive the enemy out of any stronghold, unless it could be permanently held afterwards. There could be no such thing as territory left vacant in warfare like this. But forts such as had been constructed hitherto in South Africa were very expensive—Fort Hare, for instance, had cost £8,600—and they required half a regiment at least to garrison them. They were built as if they were intended to stand a siege by regular troops provided with cannon, whereas something far simpler would answer the purpose equally as well against such enemies as the Kaffirs. He resolved therefore, as soon as a mountain stronghold was cleared, to build several small defensible turrets in commanding positions, and to surround them with stone walls in such a manner that a large party could take shelter under them. Stores could then be kept there in safety under a guard of fifteen or twenty men, while the surrounding country could be constantly patrolled. Though these redoubts cost but little, they were found to answer in every respect the purpose for which they were designed.

Sir Harry Smith had made King-Williamstown his centre of operations, from which he had worked in both directions; the new commander-in-chief made Fort Beaufort his head quarters, and determined to work forward from that base.

There had hitherto been a large expenditure in organising native levies and keeping irregular forces in the field. Horses, arms, clothing, rations for themselves and their families, liberal pay, and a share of captured cattle, were demanded by the levies, and though they did not always receive as much as they thought they were entitled to, the expense of keeping them in the field was very great. Sir George Cathcart determined to reduce the number of these auxiliaries, and to employ in their stead a force of armed and mounted European police, the efficiency of which became at once apparent. The men of this service provided themselves with food, clothing, horses, and equipments, ammunition only being supplied by the government. They were ready to move at a moment's notice, and proved themselves most

admirably adapted for South African warfare. This force was raised in the imperial service, and was paid by England until April 1853, when it was greatly reduced in number and was taken over by the government of the colony. In the course of a few weeks seven hundred and fifty men were enrolled in it at 5*s.* 6*d.* a day, and thereafter the frontier districts were kept comparatively free of marauders.

The colony being thus protected, on the 1st of July the governor called upon the burghers of the frontier districts to meet at the Imvani on the 6th of August, and aid in an invasion of Kreli's country. He closed the proclamation by stating that if the colonists would not help themselves, the troops would very likely be withdrawn. As many burghers as were required assembled at the time and place appointed, and at their head and aided by some regulars he crossed the Kei, burnt Kreli's principal kraal, and captured ten thousand head of cattle. This campaign brought the Galeka chief to terms, and thereafter he was most anxious for peace.

During the month of September the Kroome mountains were thoroughly cleared, and forts were erected in such positions that they could not be reoccupied by the enemy. Makoma, who had held these fastnesses for twenty-one months despite the exertions of the troops, now fell back upon the Amatola forests, where he joined the other rebel chiefs. He was followed at once by such a force that within a fortnight these strongholds also were cleared and dotted over with military posts. The power of the insurgents was by these means completely broken. On the 9th of October Siyolo, in whose country Tamacha Post had been established, gave up the contest by surrendering with forty attendants to Colonel Maclean at Fort Murray. His example was followed by those of the Tembu chiefs who were still living. The others were seeking places of concealment, their followers having dispersed either among the Galekas or the neutral clans.

A reward of £500 and a free pardon was offered to any one who would apprehend Uithaalder, and £50 for any of his subordinate leaders, dead or alive; the remainder of the Hottentot rebels were assured that their lives would be spared if they would surrender at once. Most of them gave themselves up, and were sentenced to short terms of imprisonment.

A settlement of the Tembus was next effected. A tract of country to the westward of the Indwe, since called the Glen Grey location, was reserved for their use. Nonesi was invited to return with her people and occupy it. Mr. J. C. Warner was placed there as the representative of government, and found no difficulty in preserving order and maintaining his own supremacy. All the remaining lands that had previously been occupied by the emigrant Tembus were forfeited. The clans of this tribe that were engaged in the war had been nearly exterminated, Mapasa, their principal chief, had been killed, and now the survivors were permitted to disperse among the followers of Nonesi.

The pursuit of a few wretched fugitives being all that remained to be done, in November the governor withdrew two thousand five hundred of the troops for an expedition to Basutoland. He accompanied them in person, and it was only after his return to the colony that steps were taken for the final settlement of affairs on the eastern border. In February 1853 peace was formally concluded with Kreli. He had previously paid the larger portion of the fine imposed upon him, and the remainder was now remitted.

In the mean time the Rarabe chiefs with a few devoted followers, hunted from place to place, had fled across the Kei. From their retreat on the Tsomo Sandile, acting for all, despatched two messengers to Pato, and begged him to intercede for them with Colonel Maclean. The messengers were to say their strength was gone, they were beaten and driven from their country, and only asked that a place might be assigned to them where they could rest in peace. On the 13th of February 1853 Mali and Mani reached Fort

Murray with this word from their chief, which was immediately communicated to the governor. Enquiries made during the next fortnight tended to show that they were in earnest in tendering their submission, as they were to all appearance in desperate circumstances. On the 2nd of March the governor issued a proclamation, granting pardon to the rebels, upon condition of the surrender of their arms and future good behaviour.

Seven days afterwards a meeting took place at the Yellowwoods, six miles from King-Williamstown. The chiefs had hastened back from the Tsomo upon learning the governor's clemency, and nothing more remained to be done but to make arrangements for their location. Sandile, Makoma, Anta, Oba, Stokwe, and Tola, were there. They were informed that the country along the Amatola mountains was forfeited for ever, and that any of them found there would be dealt with summarily under martial law, but that the large tract of open land from the Kei to the great northern road, between Umhala's location and the Thomas river, was theirs to occupy as long as they conducted themselves peaceably, and that they were at liberty to govern their people according to their own laws and customs.

With this scene,—the brave soldier, who was so soon thereafter to fall at Inkerman, granting in the name of his sovereign pardon to the fallen chiefs, and they, warm in expressions of gratitude and loyalty, but at heart as disinclined as ever to submit to civilised rule,—the great rebellion terminated. It had ruined its instigators and many hundreds of colonists. It had cost Great Britain upwards of two millions sterling and the lives of four or five hundred soldiers. Among those who fell were several men of distinguished ability and high position. There was no braver officer in the British service than Colonel Fordyce, of the 74th, who lost his life on the 6th of November 1851, in one of the numerous skirmishes in the Waterkloof.

Umlanjeni and Uithaalder remained at large, but were powerless for evil. The former sank into contempt, became an object of derision to his own people, and died on the 28th of August 1853, a few months after the restoration of peace. Uithaalder wandered for some years an outcast beyond the border, and at last committed suicide.

Arrangements were now made which greatly altered the relative position of the frontier clans to each other. The Christian chief Kama had a large and fertile tract of land along the eastern bank of the Keiskama given to him in reward for his services against the Tembus, and his clan being joined by numerous refugees from others soon became powerful. The Gaikas, having lost most of their cattle as well as the rich valleys of the Amatola, were poor and weak. The Fingos had some of the choicest lands in the country allotted to them, the best portions of the Tyumie and upper Keiskama valleys, as well as extensive locations farther north, being added to their former possessions. The forfeited Gaika territory was retained as a government reserve.

A large part of the forfeited Tembu lands north of the Amatola range was given to European settlers. Farms, not exceeding four thousand acres in extent, were surveyed there, and offered to colonists under a system of military tenure. A land commission was appointed, to which applications for grants were sent in, and from the list of names the most suitable were selected. Young men who were possessed of some property and had been active in the defence of the frontier had a preference in the allotment of these farms. They were bound to reside on their grants, to arm themselves efficiently, and to maintain an armed man for every thousand acres over the first thousand of which their farms consisted. Under these conditions the district was at once occupied by a class of men well qualified to defend it. The portion of the forfeited territory allotted to Europeans contained about four hundred farms, and there were at least three times as many applicants.

Tracts of land at Lesseyton, Kamastone, Oxkraal, and Windvogelberg were set apart for the use of Fingos and other natives who had fought on the British side. The strip of country known as the Bontebok flats was left unoccupied for a time. It adjoins the Amatola, but on account of there being no wood upon it and its being exposed to cold winds in winter, it was not coveted as a place of residence by either whites or blacks. It forms, however, an excellent grazing ground in summer for sheep and cattle, for which purpose it has since been used. The forfeited Tembu territory received the name of the division of Queenstown. The farms were held under military tenure until 1868, when an act was passed by which the grantees were released from their obligations, on the ground that such burdensome conditions were no longer necessary. From that date land in this and in the other frontier divisions has been held under the ordinary quitrent tenure of the colony.

A village was established in an excellent situation on the Komani river,—a feeder of the Kei,—on a plain where abundance of water could be led out, and where superior building material was plentiful. The plan of Queenstown differs from that of other colonial villages, where the streets run commonly at right angles with each other. From an open space in the centre, called the Hexagon, its streets radiate to different points of the compass, an arrangement which was adopted to facilitate defence. Fifty building allotments, half an acre in size, were sold on its establishment for £4 10*s.* each, on condition of being built upon immediately, fifty others were sold at £7 10*s.* each, on condition of being enclosed, sites were granted free for Episcopal and Wesleyan churches, and ten acres were presented to the Dutch reformed congregation, with a view of inducing them to build a place of worship there. The growth of Queenstown was extremely rapid, as its position in the centre of a fertile district fully occupied and on the great northern road from East London, from which it is about a

hundred and forty miles distant, gave it great commercial advantages.

In Victoria East, after the Fingos had received ample grants, there remained much unoccupied land. Of this, a large portion was in the hands of speculators, who had been enabled before the rebellion to purchase extensively, under regulations then in force, which required all crown lands to be sold to the highest bidder at public auction. What remained was now laid out in farms and granted to settlers under military tenure, the same as in the Queenstown division.

The forfeited lands of the rebel Hottentots at the Kat river were given to European settlers. A new village, named Seymour,—after Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Seymour, who was Sir George Cathcart's military secretary, and who afterwards fell at Inkerman,—was laid out at Eland's Post, on one of the sources of the Kat river, and the magistrate of the district of Stockenstrom was stationed there. Its situation is pleasant, but, not being on any of the great routes of commerce, it has not risen to much importance.

In October 1852 Colonel Mackinnon had resigned the situation of chief commissioner in British Kaffraria, and had been succeeded by Colonel Maclean, previously commissioner with the Ndlambe clans. A very simple form of government was in force in the province, there being as yet only about twelve hundred Europeans, exclusive of the military, resident there. The Kaffirs were governed directly by their own chiefs.

The missionaries resumed their labours, and rebuilt their stations. That their early exertions had not been fruitless was evident from the fact that fifteen hundred natives professing Christianity had refused to rebel at the bidding of Umlanjeni, and had taken refuge at King-Williamstown, where they remained while the war lasted, without a single charge of any kind being brought against one of them.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

SIR HENRY G. W. SMITH, GOVERNOR AND HIGH COMMISSIONER, (*continued*).

SIR GEORGE CATHCART, GOVERNOR AND HIGH COMMISSIONER, (*continued*).

CHARLES HENRY DARLING, ESQRE., LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR, ACTING HEAD OF THE GOVERNMENT FROM 26TH MAY TO 5TH DECEMBER 1854.

GRANT OF AN EXCEEDINGLY LIBERAL CONSTITUTION TO THE CAPE COLONY.

THE colonists had for many years been desirous of having a voice in their government, and petitions to that effect had frequently been sent to England. These had not been acceded to, because the imperial authorities were of opinion that representative institutions might not work well in a country inhabited by different European nationalities that had not yet coalesced, and where a large proportion of the population consisted of people very low in the scale of civilisation. There was another reason, in the fact that the colonists were by no means unanimous as to the form most desirable for the future government of the country. In the west, generally speaking, the people desired that the colony should remain one and indivisible, and that a single representative chamber should be established. In the east, the British settlers, or at least a majority of them, desired a separate government framed after the English model, or, if that could not be obtained, removal of the seat of administration from Capetown to Grahamstown. For the most important question to be settled in South Africa was the

mode of dealing with the Kaffirs, and in their opinion a strong executive was imperatively needed near the border.

Correspondence on this subject between the successive secretaries of state and the different governors was without result before the ministry of Lord John Russell came into power, in July 1846. Then an inclination was shown to confer the boon of representative institutions upon the Cape dependency, and Earl Grey, who held the seals of the colonial department, announced that in his opinion "some difficulties might be wisely encountered, and some apparent risks well incurred, in reliance on the resources which every civilised society, especially every society of British birth or origin, will always discover within themselves for obviating the danger incident to measures resting on any broad and solid principle of truth and justice." Sir Henry Pottinger was therefore instructed to make a full report upon the subject, and as he was unable to do so, owing to his early departure for India, his successor was entrusted with the task.

The attorney-general, Mr. William Porter, was directed by Sir Harry Smith to prepare for his consideration "such a general plan as would appear to secure the greatest number of the advantages, and shun the greatest number of the inconveniences, incidental to the contemplated change of system." When this was done, on the 21st of March 1848 Mr. Porter's draft and the earlier documents were submitted to the members of the executive council and the three judges, with a request that each of them should draw up a report giving his opinion upon the matter.

In these reports the opinion was unanimously expressed that an immediate change in the form of government was desirable, inasmuch as the colonists had lost all confidence in the existing legislative council, and it was with difficulty that competent men could be induced to accept the position of unofficial members of it. They were unanimous also in the opinion that no danger was to be apprehended from any rivalry between the Dutch and English sections of the

population, whose interests were identical, and that there was not the slightest cause to fear that any attempt would be made by an elected body to oppress the coloured people. They were all opposed to the division of the colony into two, as such a measure would tend to weakness, and as the estimated wealth of the whole eastern province was less than that of the Cape peninsula alone, a separate administration would be beyond its means to bear. They concurred in opinion that Capetown should remain the seat of government, as containing one-fifth of the inhabitants of the country, and therefore less inconvenience would be experienced in sending representatives of the country districts there than in sending representatives from it to any other place.

With the exception of the chief justice, all of the framers of these reports favoured a legislative council composed of officials and unofficial members appointed by the crown and a house of assembly elected by the people. Sir John Wylde alone was of opinion that the legislative council should contain some elected members, in order that it might command the confidence of the people. In other matters, such as the qualifications of members and the franchise, there was a divergence of view, but not to any serious extent.

Mr. Porter was then requested to frame a constitution based upon these documents, in order that the imperial authorities might make any alterations in it they should think advisable, and that it might then be confirmed by an order in council. On the 29th of July 1848 Sir Harry Smith, who was himself strongly in favour of the measure, forwarded the whole of the previous papers and Mr. Porter's draft constitution to Earl Grey to be dealt with.

The matter was then referred to the lords of the committee of council for trade and foreign plantations, who made an exhaustive study of it, and on the 19th of January 1850 drew up a very able report. They recommended the grant of a constitution more liberal than that possessed by

any other British colony, with an elected legislative council as well as a house of assembly. Their object in proposing an elected rather than a nominated council was to create "a body of real weight and influence, commanding the respect and confidence of the public," and they observed that as the existing nominated legislative council, "even while it exercised the whole power of legislation had little hold over public opinion, such a body would cease to have any real weight or influence when it came to be overshadowed by so substantial a power as that of an assembly elected by the people." They recommended that letters patent should be issued containing only the main and leading provisions of the constitution, and that power should be given to the existing legislative council to pass ordinances, subject to her Majesty's approbation, for regulating all the subordinate arrangements, of which they were of opinion that as large a share as possible should be thus left to be determined on the spot.

Their report was laid before the queen in council on the 30th of January 1850, and being approved of, on the 23rd of May letters patent were issued providing that there should be an elected legislative council presided over by the chief justice of the colony and an elected house of assembly, that the two houses might be dissolved by the governor at any time, or the house of assembly alone, but not the legislative council alone, and leaving all details to be arranged by the local legislature and submitted to her Majesty for approval or alteration.

According to a notice issued by Sir Harry Smith in March 1848, there should have been two sessions of the legislative council yearly, in May and October; but for some time past there had been none at all, as owing to the anti-convict movement, as has been mentioned in a preceding chapter, five of the unofficial members had resigned, and other gentlemen to whom the seats were offered had declined to accept them. Sir Harry Smith was now desirous of filling up the vacancies with men who would

represent the true opinions of the people of the country, and with this view, by the advice of the executive council, on the 6th of May 1850 he issued a notice requesting the divisional road and municipal boards throughout the colony to transmit to the secretary to government with the least possible delay the names of the five persons whom they wished to see appointed. This was equivalent to an appeal to the country, but it was the only occasion on which the popular will was consulted before the elections to the first parliament, as the secretary of state did not express his approval of the proceeding.

From the nominations of the different boards, on the 23rd of July the governor appointed Mr. Christoffel Josephus Brand, who had twenty-five votes, Sir Andries Stockenstrom, who came next with twenty-three, Mr. Francis William Reitz, who followed with twenty-one, Mr. John Fairbairn, who had nineteen, and Mr. Robert Godlonton, who had three votes. Mr. William Cock, who had not resigned his seat, was still a member. The unofficial element in the council consisted thus of two Dutch colonists and one English resident in Capetown to represent the western, and two British settlers and one Dutch colonist to represent the eastern province. The official element was wholly English.

On the 6th of September 1850 the legislative council met. There were present the governor, Sir Harry Smith, who presided, the secretary to government, Mr. John Montagu, the auditor-general, Mr. William Hope, the collector of customs, Mr. William Field, the treasurer-general, Mr. Harry Rivers, the attorney-general, Mr. William Porter, and the six unofficial members named above. After the formal opening the governor read a minute in which he informed the members that one of the principal objects for which they had been called together was to pass an ordinance or ordinances for the government of the colony on liberal principles, with popular representation.

Sir Andries Stockenstrom and Messrs. Brand, Reitz, and Fairbairn then objected to the appointment of Mr. Godlonton,

on the ground that nine votes had been recorded for Mr. J. H. Wicht, seven for Mr. J. J. Meintjes, and four for each of several others, whereas he had received only three. The governor asserted that he could appoint any one he chose. and the attorney-general stated that he had advised the selection of Mr. Godlonton instead of Mr. Wicht, in order that each of the provinces might have three representatives. The boards also which had nominated him were those of most important communities, one of them being that of Grahamstown, by which he had been named without a dissentient voice, so that he actually represented a greater number of individuals than Mr. Wicht would have done. The action of the objectors was not wholly disinterested, for their political opinions differed considerably from those of Mr. Godlonton, as enunciated in the *Grahamstown Journal*, of which newspaper he was the editor, and they would therefore have much preferred Mr. Wicht as a colleague. But the majority of votes was against them, so they were obliged to submit.

The council immediately went into committee to discuss the details of the proposed constitution, the secretary to government acting as chairman. Some of the details concerning the franchise and the constitution of the house of assembly were agreed to, and then irreconcilable differences of opinion arose between the official members and Messrs. Godlonton and Cock on one side and Sir Andries Stockenstrom and Messrs. Brand, Reitz, and Fairbairn on the other regarding the qualifications for a seat in the upper house and the length of the term for which its members should be elected. The majority desired the qualification to be the possession of unencumbered landed property to the value of £2,000, and the length of the term to be ten years. The four members in the minority, who wanted a much more democratic council, declared they would regard a chamber so constituted as nothing but an oligarchy. In the course of the debate the secretary to government expressed an opinion that all the official members were bound to support any

measure resolved upon by the executive council, whether they approved of it or not, a statement which puts in a very clear light the value of a mixed official and nominee council. In every division the four members were outvoted.

On the 20th of September some drafts of ordinances and the estimates for the current year were brought on by the government. The same four members objected to any business being taken in hand except the constitution ordinances, and upon a motion to proceed with the estimates being carried against them they resigned their seats. The council being thus made incompetent to proceed with business, for want of the requisite quorum, on the 23rd the governor appointed the five official members with Messrs. Godlonton and Cock a commission to consider and report on the best form of a representive legislature for the colony.

The municipality of Capetown now requested the four gentlemen who had resigned, together with Mr. Jan Hendrik Wicht, to draft a constitution according to their views, to be taken to England by Sir Andries Stockenstrom and Mr. Fairbairn. It was hoped that as they had received the highest number of votes from the municipal and road boards, they would be regarded by the secretary of state as the true representatives of the colonists, and the constitution framed by them as what was generally desired. It was further intended to circulate petitions to be signed in its support.

The document drawn up by these gentlemen provided for a house of assembly of forty-six members chosen for three years by twenty-two electoral divisions, namely the twenty existing fiscal divisions of the colony and the city of Grahamstown, each of which was to return two members, and the city of Capetown, which was to return four. The voting for this house was to be by word of mouth. There was to be a legislative council of fifteen members elected for four years by the whole colony as one constituency, the elections to take place by means of written papers containing any number of names not exceeding fifteen. The qualifications of members of the house of assembly were simply that they should be

voters, those of members of the legislative council were the attainment of thirty years of age, residence of three years in the colony, and the possession of fixed property to the value of £1,000. The legislative council, as well as the house of assembly, was to elect its own chairman or speaker. The secretary to government, the attorney-general, and the treasurer-general were to have the right of debate in both houses, but not of voting. The governor was not to have power to dissolve the house of assembly without dissolving the legislative council at the same time, and he was to call the parliament together at least once every year, so that twelve months should not elapse between two sessions. The qualification of voters for both houses was twelve months occupation of property valued at or above £25.

On the 27th of October 1850 Mr. Fairbairn left Capetown for England with the draft of a constitution so framed and with numerous petitions in its favour. Sir Andries Stockenstrom, who was in delicate health and therefore feared a European winter, did not leave until the 22nd of March 1851. On presenting himself at the colonial office, Mr. Fairbairn was received by Earl Grey as a private individual, but was distinctly informed that he could not be acknowledged in a representative character. He tried to press the approval of the draft constitution he had with him, without succeeding in obtaining any other reply than that Sir Harry Smith would be instructed how to act. He then, with Sir Andries Stockenstrom after the arrival of the latter, endeavoured to forward his views through the medium of the press, and secured the support of several members of the house of commons.

On the 30th of September 1850 the official members of the legislative council and Messrs. Godlonton and Cock drew up the report required by the governor. In it the electoral franchise and the constitution of the house of assembly were the same as proposed by the other party, but there was a wide difference regarding the legislative council. That chamber they thought should consist of fifteen members,

elected for ten years, except that the seven returned with the least number of votes at the first election should retire after five years, so that thereafter half of the whole body should be renewed at the end of every fifth year. The qualification of a member they fixed at possession of unencumbered landed property to the value of £2,000 or movable or mixed property to the value of £4,000, and he was required to be not under thirty years of age. The electors in each division were to vote for as many members as were needed, and those were to be returned who headed the poll in the greatest number of divisions. They advised that this chamber should choose its own president, and they objected to its dissolution separately from that of the house of assembly. Some other details were added, but were of trifling importance compared with the above.

Here then was a very plain issue between the two parties, but even such a legislative council as that described did not satisfy the whole of the gentlemen who signed the report. Mr. Montagu and Mr. Rivers agreed to it because they felt themselves unable to vote against a decision of the imperial authorities, but they both drew up memoranda strongly favouring a council nominated for life by the crown. Mr. Montagu pointed out that violent party and race feeling had been aroused during the preceding two years, and he had come to the conclusion that the coloured people were really in need of protection from the farming population, whose representatives in the assembly would be in a majority. Mr. Porter was of opinion that a nominated upper house would have been preferable, but was now impossible, as an elected one had been promised. He suggested that the western province as one constituency should return eight members, and the eastern province in like manner seven. Mr. Field desired that at least one-third of the upper house should consist of official members, and Mr. Hope, though less resolute on this point, also favoured a nominee council. Sir Harry Smith, too, expressed to Earl Grey a very strong opinion in accordance with this feeling.

Messrs. Godlonton and Cock, on their part, were not opposed to an elected council, but desired the separation of the eastern province with a legislature and administration of its own, and protested in vigorous language against the seat of government remaining in Capetown if the colony continued to be one.

All this was represented very fully to Earl Grey, who, however, felt indisposed to depart from the strict letter of the order in council, and consequently did not accept the report of the commission as meeting the case. Petitions from various parts of the colony were forwarded to him, mostly in favour of the constitution drawn up by Mr. Fairbairn and his associates, so that he could not but see that a nominee council would be objectionable to a very large party.

Before anything further could be done, the Kaffir war commenced, the governor was obliged to remain on the frontier, many of the burghers were called to arms, and the condition of the colony became such that the immediate introduction of representative government was impossible. Even Messrs. Godlonton and Cock dared not leave their homes. Under these circumstances, on the 13th of May 1851 Earl Grey instructed Sir Harry Smith not to proceed with the constitution ordinance until a more convenient season, when the full number of unofficial members of the legislative council could be appointed; and in the mean time he was empowered to carry on pressing business, such as passing the estimates, with a council of not less than six members exclusive of himself, in which during his absence four were to form a quorum.

When this became known in South Africa much dissatisfaction was expressed in different parts of the western province, and numerous petitions were forwarded to the queen, entreating her Majesty to grant representative institutions without further delay. From the east also petitions were sent, begging for separation or removal of the seat of government, and asserting that the deplorable condition of

the province at the time was mainly due to the want of a strong executive on the spot.

In London Sir Andries Stockenstrom and Mr. Fairbairn, through the medium of Mr. C. B. Adderley, made very strong representations to Lord John Russell on the subject of Earl Grey's instructions, and desired him to have the constitution they advocated, or one closely resembling it, passed at once by the imperial parliament. To prevent delay, they would even accept the introduction of the plan of the commission, but would endeavour to have it amended in the house of commons to meet their views. They submitted their case to three eminent lawyers, from whom they obtained an opinion that a council of reduced numbers, such as that they objected to, would be illegal and its acts invalid. Lord John Russell took a different view, but the question was set at rest by fresh instructions from Earl Grey to Sir Harry Smith, on the 30th of June 1851, to nominate four new unofficial members, and proceed with the general business of the colony as well as with the consideration of draft constitution ordinances which he would send out.

The governor was unable to leave the frontier, so he directed Mr. Montagu to select qualified persons and convene the council. The gentlemen then chosen were Messrs. William Hawkins, Charles Arkcoll, and Ewan Christian, merchants of Capetown, and Mr. Benjamin Moodie, a farmer of Swellendam. On the 10th of October 1851 the council—all the members of which were English—met, with Mr. Montagu as chairman. The new members were sworn in, after which some ordinances were introduced, and the council then adjourned to the 10th of November to allow of Messrs. Godlonton and Cock being present. The estimates and other ordinary business occupied the attention of the members until the 21st, when the draft ordinances for completing the constitution, which had just been received from England, were introduced. On the 28th they were read for the first time, and the second reading was set down for the

28th of January 1852, in order to give an opportunity to the public throughout the country to express an opinion upon them.

The first of these draft ordinances contained ninety clauses, and provided for the establishment of a legislative council to consist of the chief justice as president, eight members elected by the western, and seven elected by the eastern province. The members were to be over thirty years of age, and to be possessed of unencumbered landed property worth £1,000 or other property worth £2,000. They were to hold their seats for ten years, except that eight were to retire five years after the first election. The electors in the two constituencies could distribute their votes, or give all to one candidate, if they chose to do so. The voting for members of this house was to be in writing. Three members were to form a quorum.

The house of assembly was to consist of forty-six members elected for five years. The voting for members of this house was to be by word of mouth. The qualification of a member was to be the same as that of an elector for either house, namely occupation for twelve months of property worth £25. The debates and proceedings in both houses were to be in the English language.

The governor could dissolve both houses together, or the house of assembly by itself, but not the legislative council by itself.

The secretary to government, attorney-general, treasurer, and auditor were to have the right of debate, but not of voting, in both houses.

The remainder of the clauses were devoted to details, such as manner of registration, manner of conducting the elections, &c.

The second draft ordinance merely provided for a reserved civil list.

Some unavoidable delay took place, so that it was only on the 11th of February 1852 that the draft ordinances came before the council again for the second reading. All the

members were present except the governor and Mr. Cock, who were on the eastern frontier.

Mr. Godlonton at once moved that the further consideration of the constitution ordinances be deferred till the close of the war. He was opposed to the low franchise, because it would admit as voters great numbers of the coloured people, many of whom were at that moment in open rebellion. But this question, he thought, could not then be discussed with safety, owing to the fact that there was almost a panic in the western districts, the farmers there fearing a general rising of the coloured people, and these, on their part, being apprehensive of danger if the franchise should be raised. The council had already been obliged to throw out an ordinance for the removal of squatters from crown lands, on account of the excitement which its discussion might cause. He was further opposed to the ordinances because they made no provision for the establishment of a government in the eastern province, a matter, in his opinion, of the first importance.

Captain Arkcoll seconded this motion, and all the members present except the chairman and Messrs. Porter and Hope supported it.

Mr. Montagu then moved the adjournment of the discussion until the governor's views could be ascertained, and this was carried, only Messrs. Porter and Hope, who desired to take the ordinances in hand without further delay, voting against it.

The governor decided that the ordinances should be proceeded with at once as a government measure, and therefore on the 1st of March they were brought on again. In the mean time numerous petitions were sent to England, most of them accepting with expressions of gratitude the constitution at the stage then reached and praying that it might be put in operation without further delay, but others making various objections, and a very strong one from the eastern province asking that the seat of government should be established there.

On the 4th of March it was resolved to raise the number required to form a quorum in the legislative council from three to five, and in the house of assembly from seven to twelve. On the 9th the important question of the franchise came on for discussion. Mr. Hawkins moved, and Mr. Moodie seconded, a resolution raising it from the occupation for twelve months of a house worth £25 to occupation of a house with a yearly rental of £10, or possession of landed property worth £50, or receipt of a salary or wages yearly of £50 or of £25 with board and lodging. An animated discussion followed, in which Messrs. Porter, Field, and Hope warmly advocated the retention of the £25 franchise as fixed in the draft ordinance sent from England and accepted by the great majority of the colonists. They could see no danger in admitting the coloured people as electors, but feared rather that great disaffection might be caused by excluding them under such a franchise as that proposed. The other members were equally determined to prevent the coloured people from voting, if they could, and spoke strongly on the subject of their incapacity and of the likelihood of their being led in any direction by political agitators. One party pictured the cleanly, orderly, loyal resident at Genadendal, the result of seventy years careful training by the Moravian missionaries, as a representative of the coloured people in general; the other party spoke of the drunken Hottentots at Grahamstown and the rebel miscreants of Theopolis and the Kat river as fair specimens of the voters that would be admitted under the low franchise. On the 10th the resolution was carried by eight to three, Messrs. Montagu, Rivers, Christian, Moodie, Arkcoll, Hawkins, Godlonton, and Cock voting for it, and Messrs. Porter, Field, and Hope against.

On the 20th of March the qualification of a member of the legislative council was raised from the possession of unencumbered landed property worth £1,000, or of mixed or movable property worth £2,000, to possession of unencumbered landed property worth £2,000, or of mixed

or movable property worth £4,000, the division list being the same as on the subject of the franchise. On the 24th of March it was unanimously agreed that the election of the four members to represent the city of Capetown in the house of assembly should be similar to that of members for the legislative council, that is that every voter could distribute his four votes as he chose, thus securing the representation of a minority.

The other alterations made in the draft ordinances were unimportant, and on the 25th of April 1852 the completed documents were forwarded to England by Lieutenant-Governor Darling. In his covering despatch Mr. Darling strongly objected to the raising of the qualifications of voters. He considered that the £25 franchise "had been virtually promised by the local legislature to the inhabitants of the colony, that it had been sanctioned by Her Majesty's ministers as one of the details of that system of representative government which had been accorded by Her Majesty's free grace, and that no adequate ground had been assigned for breaking a pledge thus solemnly given."

The long delay that had taken place in establishing a parliament was not to end with the completion of the ordinances. On the 27th of February 1852 the ministry of Lord John Russell retired from office, and the earl of Derby succeeded as premier, with Sir John Pakington as secretary of state for the colonies. The new secretary, while declaring "that the gracious intention long since expressed by Her Majesty of granting to the colony of the Cape representative institutions ought to be carried into effect at the earliest possible period, consistent with a due consideration of the various difficulties with which the progress of events has surrounded the subject," really did nothing to expedite the matter. For some months all parties in the colony were quiet, waiting for intelligence from England, but after a time the people of the west became uneasy, and the belief gained ground that if a constitution were granted at all, it would be much less liberal than the one they

desired. On the 1st of May 1852 Mr. Montagu had left Capetown for England in ill health, and it was feared by the western party, with whom he was very unpopular, that he was exerting influence in favour of a nominated legislative council.

On the 8th of October 1852 there was a public meeting in Capetown, with Mr. Johannes Joaquim Lodewyk Smuts, a gentleman of great influence with the country people, in the chair, when it was resolved unanimously that "as the information received by the late mail steamers respecting the constitution granted to this colony by Her Majesty's letters patent of May 1850 is highly unsatisfactory; and as there is every reason to believe that Her Majesty's present advisers contemplate to propose a bill to parliament for the purpose of altering those letters patent, by introducing a nominated instead of an elective legislative council as now guaranteed; and as any such alteration will vitiate the constitution, the colonists having moreover determined not to accept but to repudiate the same, this meeting resolves that a committee be appointed to prepare an address and petition to the parliament and people of Great Britain for the purpose of duly representing all the circumstances in reference to this matter, and of obtaining the speedy completion of the details of a constitution in terms and in the spirit of Her Majesty's letters patent of May 1850." As members of the committee Sir Andries Stockenstrom and Messrs. J. J. L. Smuts, John Fairbairn, C. J. Brand, J. H. Wicht, J. de Wet, A. N. Changuion, H. C. Jarvis, J. M. Maynard, and P. J. Denyssen, and Drs. C. Fleck and Abercrombie were chosen.

This was followed by a general agitation throughout the western districts. Meetings were everywhere held, and resolutions were carried clamorously in favour of the immediate establishment of the constitution of May 1850, with the £25 franchise and the £1,000 qualification for a seat in the legislative council. Petitions to this effect, and that Mr. Montagu might not be permitted to return to the

colony, were numerously signed. By the British settlers in the eastern districts great meetings were also held, and petitions were sent to England objecting to the introduction of the proposed change until the Kaffir war and Hottentot rebellion should be suppressed and the frontier policy of her Majesty's government be made known. They objected further to a constitution giving numerical superiority to the western province being confirmed until provision was made either for the removal of the seat of government to the east, or for a separation of the two provinces with a distinct government in each. So matters stood on the 28th of December 1852, when the earl of Derby retired from office, and the earl of Aberdeen became prime minister, with the duke of Newcastle as secretary for the colonies.

This ministry speedily came to a definite conclusion on the subject. On the 14th of February 1853 the duke of Newcastle wrote to Governor Cathcart that the queen would be advised to ratify the constitution ordinances by an order in council as soon as they should have undergone the requisite revision and amendment, and on the 14th of March he announced that the amendments had been made, and forwarded the order in council, which was dated on the 11th of that month and was to have effect from the 1st of July.

The only important alteration made in the ordinances passed by the legislative council was the reduction of the franchise to that advocated by the attorney-general, on the ground that "in conferring upon the colony the boon of a representative constitution it would be exceedingly unadvisable that the franchise should be so restricted as to leave those of the coloured classes who in point of intelligence were qualified for the exercise of political power practically unrepresented." "It was the earnest desire of Her Majesty's government," he added, "that all her subjects at the Cape, without distinction of class or colour, should be united by one bond of loyalty and a common interest," and he believed that "the exercise of political rights enjoyed by all alike

would prove one of the best methods of attaining this object."

As to the removal of the seat of government or the division of the colony into two provinces with a legislature in each, the secretary of state did not think it advisable to introduce any provision in the ordinance. The governor was at liberty to summon parliament to meet wherever he thought best, and if at any future time it should be found expedient to separate the provinces, the parliament could adopt measures to that effect.

On the 21st of April 1853 the mail steamer *Lady Jocelyn* arrived in Table Bay, after a passage of thirty-seven days from Plymouth, bringing a despatch from the duke of Newcastle in which was enclosed the order in council confirming the constitution. Throughout the western districts it was received with the greatest joy, and if the British settlers in the east were less jubilant, the state of suspense in which they had so long been living at least was ended.

As at last fixed, the constitution provided for a parliament to consist of a governor, a legislative council, and a house of assembly.

The legislative council was to consist of fifteen members elected for ten years, except that on the first occasion, or after a general dissolution, the four members for each province who should receive the least number of votes were to retire after five years, so that practically half the members should be chosen at the end of every fifth year. The whole colony was to be divided into two constituencies, the eastern and the western, the former of which was to return seven, and the latter eight members. The electors, who were to be the same as those for the house of assembly, had as many votes as there were members to be chosen, and could distribute their votes as they pleased, one to each candidate of the number required, two or three to one and the remainder to another, or they could give all to one candidate if they so desired, thus providing for the representation of minorities. The mode of voting was to be by means of printed lists of

names of all the qualified candidates who had secured requisitions signed by twenty-five electors, on one of which the voter was to write, or cause to be written by the polling officer, his name and the number of votes he gave to the candidate or candidates of his choice. Of this chamber the chief justice of the colony was to be president, with the right of taking part in debates, but not of voting, unless the members were equally divided, when he was to have a casting voice. Five members were to form a quorum.

The qualifications of a member of the legislative council were to be those of a voter and the possession within the province for which he was elected of land free of all encumbrances to the value of £2,000 or of general property above all debts to the value of £4,000, in addition to which he was required to be over thirty years of age. But no government official, uncertificated insolvent, or alien registered merely by virtue of a deed of burghership could be elected to a seat in either house, though he could vote for members of both.

The house of assembly was to consist of forty-six members, elected by twenty-two constituencies for a term of five years. These constituencies were the different divisions in which there were civil commissioners, except that the cities of Capetown and Grahamstown were to be represented separately from the other parts of the divisions in which they were situated. Capetown was to have four members, and the remainder of the Cape division two; Grahamstown was to have two members, and the remainder of the division of Albany two; and the divisions of Stellenbosch, Paarl, Malmesbury, Caledon, Clanwilliam, Worcester, Beaufort West, Swellendam, and George, forming with the Cape the western province, and Uitenhage, Port Elizabeth, Somerset East, Graaff-Reinet, Fort Beaufort, Victoria East, Albert, Cradock, and Colesberg, forming with Albany the eastern province, each two. In the election of members for this chamber, only one vote could be given to each of two candidates, not two votes to one, except in the city of Capetown, where

the four votes could be distributed as in elections for the legislative council. The members of the house of assembly were to elect one of their number as speaker, who was not to have a vote except in case of equal divisions, when he was to have a casting voice. Twelve members, exclusive of the speaker, were to form a quorum.

The qualification for a seat in this chamber was the same as that for the franchise, with the exceptions mentioned above. On a day fixed by government the electors of the division were to meet, when any one could be proposed and seconded. If only two were brought forward in this manner, the polling officer was to declare them duly elected; but if more than two were proposed and supported, a day was to be fixed for taking the poll.

The governor was to be at liberty to dissolve the two chambers together, or the house of assembly alone, but not the legislative council alone. Parliament was to be convened by the governor once every year, or oftener if he should consider a special session necessary, and in no case was a period of twelve months to elapse between the close of one session and the beginning of another. The debates and proceedings in both houses were to be in the English language only.

The colonial secretary, the attorney-general, the treasurer-general, and the auditor-general, who held their appointments from the crown and were not responsible to parliament for their conduct, were to have the right of taking part in debates in either house, but were not to have votes. Acts after being read three times and passed by both chambers were to be signed by the governor before becoming of force, and he could refer any of them for the approval of her Majesty, to whom the power was reserved of disallowing all acts within two years after their reaching England.

For the franchise no distinction was made between classes and creeds, between white men and blacks; the Hottentot, or freed slave, or prize negro, or Fingo clothed in nothing but a blanket, was to be as free to go to the poll as the

astronomer-royal or the richest merchant in Capetown, provided he was a subject of her Majesty, twenty-one years of age, an occupant for a year of premises worth £25, or a joint occupant with others of landed property which if the value were divided among them would yield £25 for each, or who had been for twelve months in receipt of a salary at the rate of £50 per annum or £25 per annum with board and lodging. No education was needed, for the voting could be entirely by word of mouth. Any one who had sufficient property in two divisions, or who had land in one division and drew a salary in another, was to have the right of voting in both for members of the house of assembly, but not of the legislative council. A fresh registration of qualified voters was to be made in each division every alternate year, to be used at the polls for the identification of voters.

Such were the provisions of the most liberal constitution that had ever been granted to a British colony. To many persons it seemed a tremendous risk, for the majority of the people who were affected by it had no comprehension of representative government; others regarded it as an experiment that could be improved upon, if found necessary, at a future time. By at least five-sixths of the European inhabitants of the colony it was received with expressions of the highest satisfaction, and with assurances of gratitude to her Majesty for conferring it.

The old legislative council meantime continued to meet occasionally. On the 22nd of March 1852 Mr. Hawkins resigned on account of ill health, and no successor was appointed. Mr. Montagu had gone to England on sick leave, and died in London on the 14th of November 1853. Mr. Richard Southey acted as secretary to government until the 24th of May 1854, when Mr. Rawson W. Rawson arrived to fill the office. Otherwise the members were unchanged. On the 14th of October 1853 the council concluded its last session, as the writs for the election to the new upper chamber were about to be issued.

The elections naturally created great interest, so much so that in the western province eighty-two thousand two hundred and twenty votes were recorded, and in the eastern province thirty-three thousand four hundred and twenty-eight. In the former there were fifteen candidates, in the latter ten. On the 16th of March 1854 the names of those who had received the greatest number of votes were published in the *Gazette*. They were: for the western province, Messrs. Howson Edward Rutherfoord, Francis William Reitz, Joseph Barry, Johan Hendrik Wicht, John Bardwell Ebden, Dirk Gysbert van Breda, Johannes de Wet, LL.D., and Henry Thomas Vigne; and for the eastern province Sir Andries Stockenstrom, and Messrs. Robert Godlonton, George Wood, Henry Blaine, Willem Simon Gregorius Metelerkamp, William Fleming, and Gideon Daniel Joubert.

The elections for the house of assembly then took place. In eight divisions there was no contest, but in some of the others the competition was keen. As finally declared, the following gentlemen were returned as members: for Cape-town, Hercules Crosse Jarvis, James Abercrombie, M.D., Saul Solomon, and François Louis Charl Biccard, M.D.; for the Cape division, James Mortimer Maynard and Thomas Watson; for Stellenbosch, Petrus Jacobus Bosman and Christoffel Josephus Brand, LL.D.; for Paarl, Pieter Frederik Ryk de Villiers and Johan Georg Steytler; for Malmesbury, Frederick Duckitt and Hugo Hendrik Loedolff; for Caledon, Bryan Henry Darnell and Charles Aken Fairbridge; for Clanwilliam, Augustus Joseph Tancred, D.D., and Johannes Hendricus Brand, LL.D.; for Worcester, Egidius Benedictus Watermeyer, LL.D., and John Percival Wiggins; for Beaufort West, John Charles Molteno and James Christie, M.D.; for Swellendam, John Barry and John Fairbairn; for George, Henry William Laws and Frans Adriaan Swemmer; for Grahamstown, James Thackwray and Charles Pote; for Albany, Thomas Holden Bowker and William Cock; for Uitenhage, Johannes Christoffel Krog and Stephanus Johannes Hartman; for Port Elizabeth,

John Paterson and Henry Fancourt White; for Somerset East, Robert Mitford Bowker*; for Graaff-Reinet, Jeremias Frederik Ziervogel and Thomas Nicolaas German Muller; for Fort Beaufort, Charles Lennox Stretch and Richard Joseph Painter; for Victoria East, John George Franklin and James Stewart; for Albert, Johannes Petrus Vorster and Jacobus Johannes Meintjes; for Cradock, James Collett and William Thornhill Gilfillan; and for Colesberg, Johan Georg Sieberhagen and Ludwig Johan Frederik von Maltitz.

Parliament was summoned to meet for the first time on the 30th of June 1854. The legislative council assembled in the state room of government house, where the members of the assembly, having been sent for, also gathered. War with Russia had been proclaimed in London on the 28th of March, and Sir George Cathcart had been summoned to take a command in the army. On the 26th of May he had left in the Indian mail steamer *Calcutta*, which put into Table Bay on her passage to Southampton, and Mr. Darling was acting as head of the administration. Exactly at noon the acting governor, attended by the high officials, military and civil, entered the state room while a royal salute was being fired, and formally opened the session by a speech in the ordinary manner. The members of the legislative council then retired to the room in the public offices which they were to occupy, and the members of the assembly repaired to the banqueting hall of the Goede Hoop lodge, which was their place of meeting until the present parliament house was built. As speaker they elected C. J. Brand, LL.D., by twenty-four votes, against nineteen for Mr. John Fairbairn.

And so, two hundred and two years after the foundation of the Cape Colony, its destiny was to a large extent in the

*Mr. John George Franklin, editor of the *Frontier Times*, was returned for both Somerset East and Victoria East. He elected to keep his seat for the last named division, which left a vacancy for the other that could not be filled before parliament met. Mr. Ralph Henry Arderne was elected to fill it, and took the oath and his seat for Somerset East on the 24th of July 1854.

hands of its own people. The country was not yet indeed self-governing, for the principal officials were still appointed in England, and their salaries were secured by a reserved civil list, so that parliament had no authority over them; but henceforth no policy could be carried out against the wishes of those to whom it was home.

The following statistics will show the progress the colony had made when it reached this great turning point in its history.

The public revenue amounted in 1854 to £261,724, and in 1855 to £257,711. It was derived from

Customs, which yielded	£122,184	in 1854, and	£129,841	in 1855
Transfer dues	44,118	,,	36,291	,,
Auction dues	24,598	,,	23,804	,,
Land rents	23,027	,,	23,091	,,
Stamps and Licenses ...	24,802	,,	20,887	,,
Postage	13,888	,,	14,627	,,
Fines and fees	7,673	,,	8,265	,,
Rent of buildings ...	554	,,	608	,,
Miscellaneous	880	,,	297	,,

There were also special receipts, which cannot be regarded as revenue proper, of £18,413 in 1854, of which £12,297 was derived from the sale of land, and £16,155 in 1855, though in this year the land sales fell to £5,836.

The revenue was spent in the following manner:—

	1854	1855
Roads, bridges, and buildings	£50,533	£44,282
Border department	40,476	35,962
Civil establishments	29,587	32,763
Judicial establishments	33,088	31,360
Police and jails	27,153	25,134
Conveyance of mails	23,093	22,045
Collection of revenue	16,047	16,252
Ecclesiastical purposes	15,784	15,400
Transport	8,532	13,139
Medical officers and hospitals	8,127	10,004
Parliamentary expenses	11,706	9,477
Pensions	7,535	9,411
Educational purposes	7,594	8,016
Rent	3,053	3,089
Charitable allowances	600	1,700
Miscellaneous	4,796	8,807
	£287,704	£286,841

There were in 1854 about one hundred and forty thousand Europeans and two hundred and ten thousand coloured people within the colonial boundaries.

The exports fluctuated according to the seasons, but on the whole were steadily rising. Sheep's wool was now not only the first article in importance, but exceeded in value all other products of the country put together. Through the ports of the Cape Colony passed the productions of the territory north of the Orange river and most of those of Natal, which were brought in coasting vessels to Table and Algoa bays. The following returns of exports for the years 1853, 1854, and 1855, being the custom house valuations, represent therefore the produce of practically all South Africa.

	1853	1854	1855
Wool	£501,135	£446,940	£634,130
Hides, skins, and horns ...	54,376	50,977	99,800
Wine	30,911	40,280	61,077
Copper ore	3,346	25,056	54,337
Flour and bran	32,648	16,292	17,349
Horses and mules	9,308	15,194	13,449
Dried fish	10,399	6,737	9,129
Grain and pulse	21,681	5,002	8,559
Aloes	2,796	6,204	8,461
Dried fruit	20,297	5,259	5,178
Ivory *	12,220		
Beef and pork *	6,162		
Ostrich feathers *	4,828		
Butter *	2,002		
All other articles	21,136	48,456	59,370
	£733,245	£666,397	£970,839

The imports for home consumption amounted in value in 1854 to £1,470,030, and in 1855 to £1,181,563, thus greatly exceeding the exports.

In 1800 one hundred and four vessels—48 English, 29 American, 13 Danish, 3 Swedish, 4 Portuguese, 1 German, and 6 prizes—put into Table and Simon's bays; the vessels that entered the ports of the Cape Colony in 1854 numbered

* In the returns for 1854 and 1855 included in "all other articles."

704 British and 122 foreign, with a total of 240,543 tons, and in 1855 764 British and 130 foreign, with a total of 211,019 tons. A steam packet put into Table Bay regularly every month from England and from India, under a contract between the imperial government and the General Screw Steam Navigation Company, according to which the mails were conveyed between Plymouth and Calcutta in ships of not less than fourteen hundred tons burden, with engines of at least two hundred and thirty-three horse power, and performing the voyage at an average speed of not less than eight knots an hour, touching at the Cape each way. The *Bosphorus*, the first of these steam packets—then held to be magnificent specimens of naval architecture—arrived in Table Bay on the 27th of January 1851. In addition to the lighthouses mentioned in preceding chapters, one on the Bird island east of Algoa Bay was opened for use on the 1st of December 1852.

Boards of commissioners for improving Table Bay and Algoa Bay had been created at the beginning of 1848, and facilities for landing and shipping goods had been increased by them with money raised by anchorage and wharfage dues, but harbour works had not yet been commenced, owing to want of funds. As far back as 1846 a breakwater to protect the anchorage in Table Bay had been projected, and the imperial government had partly sanctioned a loan of £300,000 for the purpose. The work was to have been performed by convict labour, and the Amsterdam battery was being made ready for the reception of three hundred criminals when the scheme fell through. On the 11th of June 1853 a board of commissioners for the improvement of the mouth of the Kowie river was appointed, where a company was formed to undertake the work. Nothing of any importance, however, resulted from this new effort to open Port Frances.

Internal means of communication had been greatly improved under the management of the central and divisional road boards. There was now easy access to the Bo[illegible]veld and

the Karoo by means of Michell's pass, through which a road that could be traversed by the most delicate vehicle had been constructed. In December 1848 it was opened for traffic. The road through Bain's kloof, which completed a carriage drive from Capetown to the Breede river valley, was opened in September 1853, and other parts of the country had been equally favoured.

Great progress had been made in extending mission work among the coloured people, and in establishing new congregations of Christian bodies of many denominations. At the close of 1853 the Dutch reformed church in the colony had forty-four parishes, but only thirty-eight clergymen. The synod had just resolved to establish a theological seminary as soon as possible to supply the want. The English episcopal church especially was making rapid strides. On the 23rd of November 1853 letters patent were issued by the queen creating the eastern province a separate see from the western, and appointing the right reverend Dr. John Armstrong first bishop of Grahamstown. Bishop Armstrong died on the 16th of May 1856, and was succeeded in May 1857 by the right reverend Dr. Henry Cotterill.

There were now thirteen banks in the colony, exclusive of the savings bank, which had its principal office in Capetown, but had twelve branches in the most important centres of population, one as far east as Grahamstown. Philanthropic and benevolent institutions of many kinds were scattered about.

All progress is comparative, and must be measured from some fixed point. If the condition of the Cape Colony at the beginning of the nineteenth century be taken as that point, its advance had certainly been great; though if its condition towards the close of the same century be regarded as the standard, the country was as yet but as a child beginning to walk.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

CHARLES HENRY DARLING, ESQRE., ACTING GOVERNOR, RETIRED 5TH OF DECEMBER 1854.

SIR GEORGE GREY, GOVERNOR AND HIGH COMMISSIONER, ASSUMED DUTY 5TH OF DECEMBER 1854; RECALLED AND TRANSFERRED THE ADMINISTRATION 20TH OF AUGUST 1859.

THE CAPE COLONY FROM 1854 TO 1857.

DURING the remainder of Mr. Darling's administration nothing of much note occurred. The parliament contained members as able as any that have since sat in it, men who could have acquitted themselves with distinction in the English house of commons, and whose object was purely the welfare of the country. Like many other public assemblies it had its buffoon, in the person of the reverend Dr. Tancred, member for Clanwilliam, but setting aside his vagaries, which were partly due to inebriety, the proceedings were conducted with the greatest order and decorum. The acting governor, however, did not feel justified in introducing measures of importance, consequently little beyond framing rules of procedure was the outcome of the first session, which closed on the 26th of September.

The loss of the transport *Charlotte*, when over a hundred persons perished, was one of the saddest events of this year. She was a ship of five hundred and eighty-six tons burden, and was bound from Cork to Calcutta with five officers, one hundred and sixty-three soldiers, sixteen women, and twenty-six children of the 27th regiment on board. Being in want of fresh water and provisions, she endeavoured to put into Table Bay, but was baffled by contrary winds, so continued on her passage, and on the 19th of September 1854 cast

anchor in Algoa Bay. Arrangements were at once made for taking in the needed supplies, and a number of casks of salt water used as ballast were emptied, so that the ship became very light. Her fore topsail, which needed repairs, was unbent and sent down. On the following day a gale set in, when the *Charlotte's* cables parted, and she was unable to beat out of the bay. It was already dark when she struck on the ledge of rocks off Jetty-street at Port Elizabeth, and quickly went to pieces. Every possible exertion was made by the people on shore to rescue those on board, but without success until the ship's poop, which was covered with nearly naked persons clinging desperately to it, drifted through the surf towards the land. Most of these were saved, among them being five women and two of the military officers. The other three officers were on shore at the time of the disaster. There perished thirteen of the *Charlotte's* crew, sixty-two soldiers, eleven women, and all of the twenty-six children.

On the 5th of December 1854 Sir George Grey arrived and took the oaths of office as governor and high commissioner. He had visited Capetown before, when on his way to Australia to undertake the exploration of a previously unknown part of the great island, and had afterwards been governor of South Australia and New Zealand, in each of which colonies he had displayed abilities of the highest order. Possessed of great power of endurance, of unbounded tact, of unrivalled skill in dealing with inferior races, of all the qualities that command devotion in subordinates, and with an intense desire to promote the wellbeing of the country, Sir George Grey commenced his splendid career in South Africa. He had been in the army for a few years in early life, but had long since ceased to be a soldier, and was thus the first civilian that held the post of governor of the Cape Colony after the time of the earl of Caledon. When representative institutions were granted, it was considered proper that the line of military rulers should come to an end.

To meet the wants of the eastern province, a lieutenant-governor was appointed, who was to reside in Grahamstown, and have command of all the troops in South Africa, most of which were then in British Kaffraria and outposts on the border. Lieutenant-General Sir James Jackson, who was appointed to this office, assumed duty on the 30th of December 1854. All business connected with the divisions of Albany, Fort Beaufort, Victoria East, Queenstown, Somerset East, Cradock, and Albert thereafter passed through the hands of the lieutenant-governor or his secretary, but this was not regarded by the eastern province people as of any advantage, inasmuch as everything of importance had to be referred to the government in Capetown for instructions. It was only in trifling matters of routine and in the event of a sudden emergency that the lieutenant-governor could act on his own responsibility, except in military affairs.

On the 15th of March 1855 the second session of the Cape parliament—in which death and resignation had caused a few changes in the personnel—was opened, when the governor laid before the chambers various proposals for advancing the prosperity of the colony, and met with a hearty response from the members.

Among these proposals was the enlargement of the supreme court to a chief justice and three puisne judges, which was resolved upon. The personnel of this court had in course of years been much changed. Sir John Wylde was still chief justice, but Mr. Menzies died at Colesberg when on circuit on the 1st of November 1850, and on the 1st of February 1851 by warrants under the royal sign manual Mr. William Musgrave was appointed first, and Advocate Sydney Smith Bell second puisne judge. These appointments were gazetted in Capetown on the 23rd of July 1851. On the death of Mr. Justice Musgrave Advocate John Watts Ebden was appointed provisionally by the acting governor on the 7th of October 1854, and was confirmed as second puisne judge by her Majesty, Mr. Justice Bell becoming first. Recorder Henry Cloete was promoted from Natal to the Cape bench

when an additional judge was required, and on the 8th of November 1855 took the oaths of office. So the court remained until the resignation of Sir John Wylde, owing to the illness from which he died at a very advanced age on the 13th of December 1859. After a long delay, on the 13th of November 1857 Mr. Bell was appointed provisionally chief justice, Mr. Ebden first, Mr. Cloete second, and Advocate Egidius Benedictus Watermeyer—who had previously been acting during the absence on leave of Mr. Ebden—third puisne judge. This arrangement was not confirmed by her Majesty, and on the 10th of February 1858 Sir William Hodges was appointed chief justice, but as Mr. Ebden had resigned, Mr. Watermeyer was confirmed as third puisne judge. The enlargement of the supreme court was necessary to meet the demands upon the time of judges when on circuit.

Another improvement in providing increased means for administering justice was the creation of nine new districts, and the appointment of resident magistrates to Oudtshoorn and Aliwal North in July, to Prince Albert, Calvinia, and Kamaggas—subsequently removed to Springbokfontein—in August, to Bredasdorp in September, to Victoria West and Middelburg in November 1855, and to Alexandria in January 1856.

Of equal, if not greater, importance in the interests of justice and the preservation of order was the enlargement of the frontier armed and mounted police force. At the conclusion of the war this body of light cavalry, whose services had been found most valuable, was reduced to fifteen officers and two hundred and sixty men, and after the 1st of April 1853 its maintenance was made a charge upon the colonial revenue. Parliament now resolved to enlarge it, and an act was passed for its better organisation and regulation, under which by the 1st of December of the same year it was brought up to a strength of one commandant, four inspectors, twelve sub-inspectors, twenty sergeants, twenty corporals, and five hundred privates enlisted for three years. Mr.—afterwards Sir—Walter Currie,

one of the English settlers of 1820, was appointed commandant, and most of the officers were selected from the young farmers of Albany, who knew the country and the habits of the Kaffirs thoroughly. The privates were young Englishmen, generally of a superior class, many of whom in course of time rose to positions of distinction in the colony.

By another act of this session divisional councils were created, and were entrusted with the duties previously performed by the divisional road boards, the district school commissions, and the courts for the better regulation of pounds and prevention of trespasses. Each division was thereafter represented by six councillors elected for three years by those persons who were qualified to vote for members of parliament. The civil commissioner of the division by virtue of his office was constituted chairman of the council.

A great change was made in the customs tariff, partly for revenue purposes and partly to meet the views that now prevailed in the mother country. Great Britain, having attained unchallenged supremacy as a manufacturing and maritime power, had naturally adopted free trade views. The policy of a nation at any time is the result of the circumstances in which it is then existing, and hence the old navigation acts, which had contributed so greatly to England's power at sea, were now completely reversed. The Cape parliament, guided by English opinion, passed a tariff act which placed goods imported from Great Britain and from foreign countries on the same level, and made no distinction whatever between the flags of the ships in which they were conveyed. For revenue purposes it was necessary to levy duties on most of the articles imported, as direct taxation to any large extent is not practicable in a country like the Cape Colony. On the 4th of May 1855 the new act came in force, under which a number of articles were specially rated, a number of others were admitted free, and seven and a half per cent of the value of everything else was levied. As the great bulk of the trade was with

England, this was practically equivalent to adding fifty per cent to the duties on goods from that country.

An act for encouraging the introduction of European labourers was also passed, but as very little resulted from it, it is unnecessary to give the particulars.

The question of the form of government was brought on for discussion, but more to ascertain the views of the colonists generally than with any desire for immediate change. On the 26th of March a motion of Mr. Wicht, seconded by Mr. Reitz, was carried in the legislative council: "that a select committee should be appointed for the purpose of considering the expediency of introducing the principle of responsible or parliamentary government in the constitution of this colony, and that Sir Andries Stockenstrom and Messrs. Reitz, Godlonton, De Wet, and the mover do form the committee."

This was followed on the 5th of April by a resolution, proposed by Mr. John Paterson in the house of assembly: "that the experience of the first and present sessions of the Cape parliament fully justifies an expression of opinion by this house that the immediate introduction of responsible parliamentary government into the colony is both expedient and necessary, and that a select committee of the house be appointed to enquire into the best means for furthering this object and to report to this house on the amendments to be made in the constitution ordinances, by which the principle of responsible parliamentary government may be introduced." In favour of this resolution the following twenty-three members gave their votes: Messrs. Abercrombie, Barry, Biccard, Bosman, H. Bowker, M. Bowker, Cawood, Fairbairn, Grisbrook, Hartman, Jarvis, Krog, Von Maltitz, Meintjes, Molteno, Painter, Paterson, Shepperson, Sieberhagen, Solomon, Stretch, Tancred, and Ziervogel. Against the motion were only nine: Messrs. Arderne, Christie, Darnell, Gilfillan, Maynard, Stewart, De Villiers, Watson, and White. A committee, consisting of Messrs. Fairbairn, Solomon, Molteno, Meintjes, and Paterson, was appointed, who

brought in a report on the 9th of May in favour of the introduction of responsible government, and pointing out that this could be effected by the alteration of a single clause in the constitution ordinance. Here the question rested until 1856.

In the legislative council on the 15th of May a petition of the British settlers in Albany, with five hundred and three names attached to it, was presented, objecting to the proposed change, and in that chamber no further action was taken during the session.

A question that occupied much time was that connected with the Kat river Hottentots. There were then some four hundred of these people and deserters from the Cape regiment in the Transkeian territories, where their presence tended to evil. In the confiscation of the properties of rebels that had taken place there had undoubtedly been several instances in which individuals who had not been proved guilty had suffered hardships, and these were brought forward by partisans of the coloured people as if they were specimens of a system generally followed. The members of parliament were desirous that all cases of wrong should be redressed, and that the refugee Hottentots should be permitted to return to the colony, but not to the immediate frontier where they might cause mischief. This course was followed by the government. On close examination the real grievances dwindled away to a very small proportion of the alleged ones, and as these were rectified and most of the fugitives withdrew quietly from Kaffirland, this matter was set at rest.

On the 7th of June parliament was prorogued.

Much distress was caused to the farming community at this time by great losses of horned cattle from lungsickness, which was brought into the colony in 1854 by a bull from Holland that was landed at Mossel Bay. Despite all precautions the disease, which was of a very virulent nature, spread rapidly over South Africa, and it was computed that before March 1856 in the Cape Colony alone fully one

hundred thousand head of horned cattle had died of it. During the summers of 1854-5 and 1855-6 the horse distemper also raged with unusual severity, and no fewer than sixty-five thousand animals perished from it in the colony.

The question of responsible government was now being widely discussed throughout the country. In the west opinion was divided as to whether the colony was, or was not, ripe for it, but the British settlers in the east, almost to a man, were strongly opposed to its introduction. Their arguments, as used in the newspapers and at public meetings, went to show that for them even despotism would be preferable to such a form of government. The old Dutch inhabitants were in a very large majority in the colony, and the existing condition of things in the parliament, where English influence was predominant, could only be temporary. The old inhabitants would certainly come to feel their strength, when the law that required all debates and proceedings to be in English would no longer be found a barrier to their representation by men with their own ideals, and then a British minority would lie at the mercy of a majority not of their nationality or speech. Representation under such circumstances would be a bitter mockery, and no conceivable form of government would be more oppressive. The system also would open a door to abuses of all kinds, and a struggle for place would ensue in which principle and probity would be entirely lost sight of. Responsible government, said the Roman catholic bishop of Grahamstown on one occasion, means the plunder of the colony, a belief generally held in the English speaking eastern districts.

And from the British settler's point of view, there was undoubtedly danger in sight, for his ideal of what should be striven for and that of his Dutch speaking neighbour were not the same. He was full of energy, loved a life of bustle and excitement, made plans for the rapid development of the resources of the country, in which great risks were not considered, and used as his standard of prosperity

material wealth. The other was more cautious, and though also weighing material wealth, did not set such high value upon it as upon a life free from turmoil. He was content to let any resources the country might have wait for development rather than rush on hastily, and by so doing imperil a humble certainty for the chance of possible riches or grandeur.

To many people not otherwise opposed to perfect parliamentary government it was doubtful whether a sudden leap to it from the absolutism that had so recently ceased would be prudent. It would come in time, they felt certain, but all true progress is gradual, and great changes should not be made without careful consideration. It would be better to give the system then in existence a fair trial, and if experience proved that it would not answer its purpose, try for something different. It was then too soon to find fault with a constitution which had been given to them so recently and received as the greatest of boons, which had already been of much benefit to the colony.

The result of the agitation was that when parliament met again on the 13th of March 1856 the opinions of many members of the house of assembly were found to have undergone a change.

On the 3rd of April Sir Andries Stockenstrom moved in the legislative council: "that in the opinion of this house there should be a responsible ministry to advise the governor in the execution of the powers and authorities committed to him by her Majesty's commission for the administration of the affairs of this colony." This was seconded by Mr. Wicht, and carried by a majority of five, Messrs. Rutherfoord, Reitz, Barry, Ebden, Van Breda, Metelerkamp, and Fleming voting with the mover and seconder, and Messrs. Vigne, Godlonton, Wood, and Cock voting against.

In the house of assembly on the 10th of April Mr. Fairbridge moved, and Mr. Pote seconded: "that it is the opinion of this house that the introduction of the system of responsible government is against the feeling of the country,

is a premature measure, and not suited to the present state of the colony."

Mr. Solomon, seeing that the full change which he desired would certainly not be adopted, attempted to secure an instalment. He moved as an amendment: "that it is the opinion of this house that the members of the executive council should be qualified to be returned as members of either house of parliament, and in case of non election that these officers should be entitled, *ex officio*, to take their seats in either house, but without the power of voting."

The debate occupied the chamber the whole of the 10th and 11th of April, and at its close the introduction of responsible government was lost by a majority of eight, those voting for it being Messrs. Abercrombie, Arderne, Barry, Biccard, Bosman, Fairbairn, Grisbrook, Jarvis, Laws, Meintjes, Molteno, Paterson, Solomon, Stretch, Wehmeyer, and Ziervogel, and those voting against it Messrs. Armstrong, H. Bowker, M. Bowker, Christie, Cawood, Darnell, Duckitt, Fairbridge, Loedolff, Von Maltitz, Maynard, Munnik, Niewoudt, Painter, Pote, Scanlen, Shepperson, Stewart, Steytler, Tancred, Turner, De Villiers, Wiggins, and Wright. Of the twenty-four opponents of responsible government thirteen were eastern province and eleven western province members.

The British settlers desired the separation of the two provinces, and the establishment of a complete administration in each. The alternative in their opinion, removal of the seat of government of the undivided colony to Grahamstown, had almost ceased to be discussed, as outside of the Albany community the people everywhere were opposed to it. The principal argument used by the advocates of separation was the necessity for a strong and vigilant administration in the neighbourhood of the Kaffirs. At this time no one could foresee that before the next session of parliament all danger from the Xosas and Tembus would disappear, and consequently this reasoning was generally admitted to have weight. But now the Dutch speaking inhabitants of the eastern province used the same arguments against separation

that the British settlers used against responsible government: they would have none of it, because it might possibly lead to their finding themselves in a hopeless minority under the rule of a party that would have no respect for their wishes. On the 27th of May an animated discussion on the subject took place in the house of assembly, which ended in seven members voting for separation and nineteen voting against it.

The subject that, next to responsible government and the separation of the provinces, occupied most attention at this time was the question of state support of the clergy of different denominations of Christians. There was no established church, and no section of the community enjoyed any privileges denied to others, except that some of the smaller religious bodies were obliged to maintain their own ministers. There was a good deal of jealousy, however, between the large bodies that received aid from the government, each asserting that the others drew too great a share. One of the ablest men intellectually in the house of assembly, though the feeblest physically, for he was a dwarf, was Mr. Saul Solomon, member for Capetown. He was an independent or congregationalist in religion, and objected on principle to state aid to churches or state control of the clergy. No one ever suspected him of jealousy of denominations more highly favoured than his own, for by all men his motives were admitted to be pure; but his advocacy in parliament of "the voluntary principle," as it was termed, that is the entire support of its own ministers by each religious body, raised a storm of opposition throughout the colony. Petition after petition poured in upon both chambers, praying that the old system should not be disturbed. In the country districts men expressed the utmost fear that Christianity would receive a serious check if the stipends of the clergy ceased to be paid by government, and no one foresaw that the withdrawal of state aid would actually impart increased life and vigour to the churches. In support of the voluntary principle the

petitions were few, but one attracted considerable attention. It was from the Malays of Capetown, praying for relief, on the ground of their being taxpayers and being compelled to support Christianity while they were Mohamedans. It was generally believed, however, that this petition did not originate with them, but with European political agitators. In and out of parliament this matter was discussed, but many years were yet to elapse before the colony was prepared to adopt the voluntary principle.

The new division of Queenstown was occupied by Europeans after the issue of the order in council granting the constitution, and was consequently without representation. In this session it was resolved to annex it to Victoria East for electoral purposes, without increasing the number of members.

On the 4th of June parliament was prorogued.

For some time past regular steam communication with England had ceased, as the arrangement with the Company that had contracted to carry it on had fallen through. It was now resumed under a contract between the imperial government and Mr. Adam Duncan Dundas, entered into on the 6th of August 1856, under which Mr. Dundas undertook to convey the mails between Dartmouth, the Cape, Mauritius, Point de Galle, Madras, and Calcutta monthly, in steamships of not less than nine hundred and forty-nine tons burden, and to make the passage from Dartmouth to Table Bay in thirty-six days. In consideration of this service he was to receive a subsidy of £41,000 a year, of which one-fourth was to be paid by the Cape Colony, and one-fourth by Mauritius. The first steamer under this contract left Dartmouth on the 6th of September 1856.

But after a single twelvemonth this arrangement ended, and on the 12th of September 1857 a contract was made by the lords of the admiralty with the directors of the Union Steamship Company to convey the mails monthly in each direction between Devonport and Capetown. The ships were to be not under five hundred and thirty tons burden—except at the beginning of the service—and they were to

make the passage outward or homeward in forty-two days, forfeiting £25 for a passage of forty-three days and £50 for each day over that time, but receiving a premium of £50 for every day under forty-two in which the passage was performed. For this service the Company was to receive a yearly subsidy of £33,000, that is £1,375 for each passage. The contract was entered into for five years. This was the commencement of the Union Company's connection with South Africa, but its little fleet of five ocean steamers in 1857—the *Athens*, 740 tons, the *Norman*, 516 tons, the *Dane*, 447 tons, the *Celt*, 440 tons, and the *Phœbe*, 416 tons—has gradually grown into the magnificent line of huge ships that at present convey the mails weekly over the same route, and make the passage in sixteen days. To ply between the ports of the Cape Colony and Natal, the Company had in 1857 the *Madagascar*, of 321 tons, the *Waldensian*, of 285 tons, and the *Zulu*, of 189 tons, then considered fine vessels, though mere cockle shells when compared with those that now perform the same service.

On the 25th of June 1855 the South African Museum, now one of the most attractive institutions in Capetown, was founded by the governor's appointment of Mr. Rawson W. Rawson, colonial secretary, and Dr. Ludovic Pappe—afterwards colonial botanist,—as trustees, and Mr. Edgar Layard, whose splendid collection of birds remains a proof of his devotion to ornithology, as curator. The collection was opened to the public in a house in St. George's street in January 1856, but was, of course, very small compared with what it is at present. The old natural history museum, founded by Dr. Andrew Smith, had been allowed to fall into such decay that very few of the specimens were of any value whatever, but presents of animals of many kinds were liberally made by gentlemen in all parts of South Africa, and in a very short time the rooms were attractive to visitors. Specimens of minerals, weapons, African manufactures, curiosities, and other things came in more slowly. By an act of the colonial parliament passed in 1857 the

museum was firmly established under a board of three trustees, to be appointed by the governor in perpetuity as vacancies should occur, those named in the act being Messrs. Rawson W. Rawson, Thomas Maclear, astronomer royal, and Ludovic Pappe, M.D.

At the instigation of Sir George Grey parliament provided money for the erection of the large building at the foot of the gardens now entirely devoted to the South African Public Library. It was at first intended, however, that one wing should be used for the library and the other for the museum, taxidermist's rooms, and curator's residence. On the 17th of November 1857 the first stone was laid, and as soon as the northern wing was completed the museum was moved into it, where it was opened to the public on the 1st of April 1860. There it remained until the erection a few years ago of the fine building which it now occupies.

In 1856 periodical courts were established at many places distant from the ordinary seats of magistracy, and were found of much service. The greater number of the districts were also made divisions, which facilitated the collection of the revenue. In 1857 it was resolved to create three new divisions, for which purpose parliament voted the necessary funds, and in January 1858 a civil commissioner and resident magistrate was appointed for Bedford and for Hopetown, and in April of the same year for Knysna.

On the 12th of June 1857 her Majesty's steamship *Megæra* arrived in Table Bay from Mauritius, and brought intelligence of the disaffection shown by the nineteenth regiment of native infantry at Barhampur on the 27th of February, the beginning of the mutiny in India. She had no despatches for the governor, however, and the information received by her was somewhat vague. Still it was considered by Sir George Grey of such importance that he at once took steps to prepare for giving assistance in case it should be needed, so that when on the 6th of August the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamer *Madras* brought him letters from Lord Elphinstone, governor of Bombay, giving an

account of the mutiny of the troops at Mirath on the 10th of May, the seizure of Delhi and the murder of many of the English residents there on the 12th, describing further the condition of things in Hindostan and asking for aid, he was able at once to begin those great services to the empire which have made his name for ever memorable.

Owing to the self destruction of the Xosa tribe, which will be related in another chapter, there was happily now no danger of a Kaffir war, though there was some trouble with roving robber bands. There were ten strong battalions of British troops in South Africa. Part of the 89th regiment was in garrison in Capetown, the volunteers of the city offered to undertake the duty of guarding the forts, and within a week these troops were at sea. At Algoa Bay the remainder of the regiment embarked, and the transports then sped as rapidly as possible to Bombay. A wing of the first battalion of the 13th regiment was marched to Algoa Bay, where the officers and four hundred rank and file embarked in the *Madras*, and left for Calcutta on the 30th of August. Two batteries of artillery, a great quantity of military stores, fifty-six horses, and even a considerable sum of ready money from the Cape treasury went at the same time. A little later a couple of large ships arrived from Bombay to take in horses, which were procured with the utmost expedition, the governor supplying those in his own stables and many colonists following his example.

But this was not all the assistance afforded by Sir George Grey at the critical moment. On the 6th of August the *Cleopatra* put into Table Bay on her passage from Portsmouth to Singapore, conveying part of the 23rd fusileers for the Chinese expedition under Lord Elgin. The governor took the responsibility of changing her destination, and on the 9th she left for Calcutta. On the 9th the *Belleisle* put in with some companies of the 93rd highlanders bound to China, and on the 12th by the governor's orders sailed for Calcutta instead. So also with the *Mauritius*, which put in on the 11th with the remainder of the 93rd, and left again on the

16th. On the 13th the *Polmaise* from Dublin bound to New Zealand with part of the 95th regiment put into Table Bay, and had her destination changed. She sailed on the 17th. On the 6th of September the *Beechworth* with the remainder of the 95th arrived, and, instead of proceeding to New Zealand, on the 13th left for India. This assistance was of the utmost service in saving Hindostan, for it enabled the government to act with vigour long before reinforcements were received from England.

As soon as transports could be procured, more troops were sent from the Cape. In November 1857 the 80th left for Calcutta, in December the first battalion of the 6th and the remaining wing of the first battalion of the 13th followed to the same place. Horses were urgently needed, so the governor partly dismounted the Cape regiment, and used such other exertions that before May 1858 two thousand nine hundred and one horses and one hundred and four mules had been collected and forwarded. Still, as intelligence was received of the continued want of troops in Hindostan, more regiments were despatched as means for their conveyance could be obtained. In March 1858 the 73rd, in July the second battalion of the 12th, in April one wing of the second battalion of the 60th, in November the remainder of the same regiment, and in October the 31st regiment, which only arrived from England in July, left for India. There now remained in South Africa, until the arrival of the 59th from China in a debilitated condition in January 1859, only the first battalion of the 2nd, the united battalions of the 45th, and the 85th regiment, one wing of which was in Natal; but Sir George Grey had taken the responsibility of adding to the number of the frontier armed and mounted police, which parliament afterwards approved of.

The board of examiners empowered to grant certificates of merit and attainments in the several branches of literature and science, which was the precursor of the

present university, had its origin at this time. On the 22nd of October 1857 Sir George Grey issued a commission to Advocate E. B. Watermeyer, then acting as a judge of the supreme court, James Rose Innes, M.A., LL.D., superintendent general of education, and Langham Dale, B.A., professor of classics and English literature in the South African college, to form a plan for the purpose. On the 8th of December they sent in a report, which the governor approved of, and an act, framed upon it, was introduced into parliament in the session of 1858 and was passed by both chambers. It provided for the appointment by the governor of a board of seven examiners, whose certificates were to be recognised as equivalent to those of a university, and without which no one could thereafter practise in various professions in the colony.

A good deal of discrepancy had been found in many of the diagrams of land held under individual titles in the colony, and it became necessary to provide for the greatest accuracy in future surveys. A commission was therefore appointed by the governor to ascertain and report upon the unit of measure that should be used. This commission found that one thousand Rhynland or, as commonly called, Cape feet were equal to one thousand and thirty-three English standard feet, and by an act passed in 1859 the Rhynland foot with this ratio was made the unit of land measure in the colony.

In the session of 1857 parliament resolved to commence the construction of railways in the colony. The governor proposed two lines, one from Capetown through the Paarl to Wellington, with branches to Wynberg, Stellenbosch, and Malmesbury, in all ninety-two miles and a half or 149 kilometres in length, the other from Port Elizabeth to Grahamstown by way of Uitenhage, one hundred and thirty-five miles or 217 kilometres in length. The eastern province people, however, were at variance among themselves concerning the last named line, as a strong party desired rather to connect Port Elizabeth and Graaff-Reinet by rail, and

others, who were then building great hopes upon the improvement of Port Frances, had no wish to connect the frontier districts with Port Elizabeth, so that this part of the governor's plan dropped out. Part of the western line, as proposed, was approved of. The Malmesbury and Wynberg branches were omitted, and the main line was made to run from Capetown through the villages of Stellenbosch and the Paarl to Wellington, sixty-three miles and a half or 102 kilometres in distance.

The principle adopted was that it should be constructed and worked by a company, not by the government. A dividend to shareholders, after working and maintenance expenses were paid, of six per cent per annum upon the cost of construction, provided that it did not exceed £500,000, was guaranteed for fifty years, and the districts through which the line was to pass were made responsible to the colonial treasury for half of the deficiency, should there be any. The government was to have the right to purchase the line after twenty years, at a price equal to the capital which would yield, at six per cent, interest amounting to the average profit of the best three years out of the preceding seven. The rails were to be fifty-six inches and a half or 143·5 centimetres apart, and there were stipulations as to quality of materials, telegraph wires, carriage of mails, and various other matters.

In anticipation of this measure being passed, an association termed the Capetown Railway and Dock Company had been incorporated in London under the limited liability act, and now called for shares of £20 each, which were subscribed for to the amount of £600,000, to be paid in instalments. On the 5th of October 1858 a contract was signed by the directors of this company to construct and work the line from Capetown to Wellington, and as soon thereafter as navvies and tools could be sent out a commencement was made with the formation of the road.

On the 31st of March 1859 the first sod was turned by Sir George Grey with the usual ceremony on such occasions.

It was a memorable event, this commencement — though on so small a scale — of that great network of railways which now covers South Africa. No country in the world needed rapid and cheap communication between the coast and the interior more than the Cape Colony. It is a land without a single navigable river, without the possibility of the construction of a canal in any part, where in seasons of drought a journey of any length was extremely difficult. Rapid progress in production of articles for export was therefore out of the question in the interior districts, as was the education of the people by means of easy intercourse with each other, until the iron rails were laid down.

It was many years later when the government resolved to take over the lines and carry on large extensions with money borrowed on security of the colonial revenue, and the gauge was then altered from fifty-six inches and a half or 143·5 centimetres to forty-two inches or 106·678 centimetres, the present standard. No one then imagined that within half a century trains would be conveying passengers and goods from Capetown, Port Elizabeth, and East London to the Zambesi, to Beira, to Delagoa Bay, and to Durban.

CHAPTER XL

SIR GEORGE GREY, GOVERNOR AND HIGH COMMISSIONER (*continued*).

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL ROBERT HENRY WYNYARD, LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, ACTING ADMINISTRATOR, 20TH AUGUST 1859 TO 4TH JULY 1860.

THE improvement of Table Bay as a port for shipping was an object in which Sir George Grey took a very warm interest. During recent years numerous wrecks, happily attended with little or no loss of life, had taken place there in winter gales, and the great increase in the number of vessels frequenting the port made this more noticeable than in olden times. In summer too, as well as in winter, ships were frequently detained for many days at considerable expense through the impossibility of landing their cargoes when strong winds were blowing.

By direction of Lord John Russell a plan of harbour works was drawn up for the approval of Mr. Rendell, the admiralty engineer, by Mr. John Scott Tucker, who subsequently—January 1859—became civil engineer for the colony. Mr. Rendell altered the plan, which was sent out, and laid before parliament in 1855. The estimated cost was £500,000. A report upon it by a committee of the house of assembly was adopted, to the effect that the lords of the admiralty should decide upon the plan and engage an engineer to carry it out. There was then a sum of £30,000 in hand, which could be devoted to the work, and a revenue of £16,000 a year derived from double wharfage fees would be available as interest on the remaining capital required. Sir George Grey in forwarding the report expressed a desire that the imperial government should undertake the work on the security

named. Shortly after framing his plan Mr. Rendell died, and was succeeded as admiralty harbour engineer by Captain James Vetch.

Meantime Lord John Russell had been followed—21st of July 1855—as secretary of state for the colonies by Sir William Molesworth, who died on the 22nd of October of the same year. On the 21st of November Mr. Henry Labouchere succeeded to the office, who on the 2nd of November 1856 forwarded to the governor a plan drawn up by Captain Vetch and approved by the lords of the admiralty. Captain Vetch proposed to run out a massive pier, 5,100 feet or 1,554·45 metres in length, from the Chavonnes battery, with an elbow, 500 feet or 152·4 metres in length, projecting towards Fort Knokke. This was to provide protection from the open sea. From Fort Knokke another pier, 4,600 feet or 1·402 metres in length, was to be run out towards the end of the elbow, leaving an open space, or entrance, of 1,600 feet or 487·67 metres at a distance of a mile and a half or 2·4 kilometres from the eastern shore of the bay. This pier was to protect the enclosure from south-east gales. The prevailing winds would strike both the great piers nearly along their length, and thus the fury of the sea would be spent upon an inclining wall, not upon one at a right angle with it. The cost was estimated by Captain Vetch at one million pounds sterling, if a thousand convicts were employed upon it; but a portion of the expense would be recovered, it was supposed, by reclaiming ground on the shore and forming an esplanade 7,000 feet or 2,133·55 metres long and 400 feet or 121·9 metres wide, from the pier at Fort Knokke to a landing jetty which was included in the plan, to run out nearly opposite the entrance to the enclosed harbour.

This new plan was submitted by the governor to parliament in the session of 1857, and a report of a committee of the house of assembly appointed to consider it was adopted by twenty-three votes to eight. The members of the committee expressed themselves extremely averse to convicts

being introduced to carry it out, as had been proposed. They recommended that if the imperial government would advance the necessary funds without interest, the legislature should pledge itself to repay the cost of the work at the rate of at least £25,000 a year from the date of its commencement. They were fully impressed with the belief that the quicker the work was carried on the better and cheaper it would be in the end, and they recommended that an act should be passed imposing an amended tariff of wharfage dues on goods landed and shipped in Table Bay, with a provision that this rate should be doubled as soon as the work was commenced, and that any balance needed to make up the £25,000 should be supplied from the general revenue.

The imperial government declined to advance the money for the purpose on these terms, and in the session of 1858 parliament resolved that works should be constructed by the colony gradually as funds could be raised to meet the expense. The government then consulted Mr.—later Sir—John Coode, an eminent marine engineer, at whose request on the 12th of April 1859 Mr. Arthur Thomas Andrews was appointed resident engineer. This gentleman made a careful survey of the bay, and ascertained the direction and force of the various currents, so that Mr. Coode was able from his reports to draw up the plan which has since been carried out. This was laid before parliament in 1860, with the necessary specifications and estimates of cost, and being approved of, £200,000 was voted to commence the construction of the breakwater. This grand work, which has made of Table Bay one of the safest and best ports in the world, was then begun under Mr. Andrews' supervision, the first stones being tipped by Prince Alfred, who was then on a visit to the colony, on the 17th of September 1860. In the session of 1861 parliament resolved to commence the construction of the large dock, which was part of the plan, and the requisite funds were raised for that purpose.

Strenuous efforts were also being made at this time to improve some of the other ports of the colony. A company

was constructing a landing wharf and a patent slip in Simon's Bay, which was ready for use in August 1860, and was afterwards of much service for repairing small vessels.

Port Elizabeth had thriven greatly, as the bulk of the wool, hides, and skins, not only from the colony itself but from the country beyond the Orange, was shipped there to be sent to England. A breakwater was projected to run out into the bay, which it was hoped would completely shelter the shipping. But upon its advance outward a little later than the date to which this chapter reaches, the current formed a great sandbank above it, so that its only effect was to move the landing place farther out. It was constructed of ironwood piles obtained in the forests at the Knysna and Plettenberg's Bay, which were driven in and bound together as a frame, that was afterwards filled with stone. It cost a large sum of money, but it became necessary to remove a great part of it, in order to restore the bay to its earlier condition.

Ever since the arrival of the British settlers of 1820 efforts had been made to create a flourishing port at the mouth of the Kowie river, but never with much success. On the 12th of October 1855 Port Frances was declared open for direct commerce with any part of the world, as previously only coasting vessels had frequented it. Mainly through the exertions of the indefatigable Mr. William Cock, an association called the Kowie Harbour Improvement Company was formed, which raised a capital in instalments of £6,250 each, and power to borrow equal amounts on the security of the government was given to it. This company engaged the services of an engineer named William Manning, who in April 1857 commenced to construct embankments with a view of increasing the depth of water on the bar. Fingo labourers were employed at low wages, and for some time success was anticipated, but the effort ended as all similar preceding endeavours had done, and the hopes of the projectors were again disappointed.

Three more lighthouses were in course of erection on the colonial coast: one on the Cape of Good Hope, from which a brilliant revolving light was first exhibited on the 1st of May 1860; one on the hill at Port Elizabeth, opened for use on the 1st of June 1861; and one on the Roman rock in Simon's Bay, intended to replace the old lightship, and opened for use on the 16th of September 1861.

Other public works of an important nature were being carried out at this time. The seats of magistracy were being provided with suitable courthouses and prisons. Several rivers were being bridged, and much was being done to improve the roads. In 1859 the building of the new Somerset hospital, in an excellent open position at Green Point, a suburb of Capetown, was commenced.

This increase of expenditure was made possible by the rapid growth of the revenue and of the exports, as here shown, which also made it easy to borrow considerable sums.

REVENUE.

	1856	1857	1858
Customs	£173,080	£254,178	£260,322
Transfer dues	43,076	47,658	34,867
Auction dues	23,783	24,490	23,703
Stamps and licenses ...	21,365	23,861	25,924
Land revenue	21,197	22,989	27,314
Postage	13,227	15,603	15,334
Fines and fees	9,878	10,714	11,163
Sales of land	9,765	1,305	1,359
Miscellaneous	3,106	3,442	2,683
	£318,477	£404,240	£402,669

	1859	1860	1861
Customs	£262,801	£270,328	£278,535
Transfer dues	43,137	46,860	44,863
Auction dues	19,982	21,223	20,516
Stamps and licenses ...	30,079	31,580	34,354
Land revenue	34,698	25,575	27,998
Postage	17,510	19,206	21,030
Fines and fees	13,686	13,440	13,669
Sales of land	28,296	54,046	87,295
Miscellaneous	12,990	16,794	18,214
	£463,179	£499,052	£546,474

EXPORTS.

	1856	1857	1858
Wool	£831,143	£1,160,499	£1,014,173
Hides and skins ...	136,364	225,903	154,960
Wine	86,356	157,309	121,268
Copper ore	77,749	102,055	127,182
Horses	13,273	42,049	117,992
Corn, grain, and meal	19,383	19,406	20,659
Dried fruit	5,701	17,496	22,361
Dried fish	8,324	16,182	7,128
Aloes	10,578	12,368	6,355
Other articles	51,745	80,433	59,584
	£1,240,616	£1,833,700	£1,651,662

	1859	1860	1861
Wool	£1,199,490	£1,446,510	£1,458,310
Hides and skins ...	159,023	164,282	95,414
Wine	159,492	81,509	41,377
Copper ore	113,514	91,540	61,442
Horses	43,977	6,945	3,441
Corn, grain, and meal	35,929	27,651	35,256
Dried fruit	32,161	18,257	14,153
Dried fish	8,063	8,824	9,195
Aloes	3,964	3,138	4,460
Other articles ...	62,467	71,623	83,550
	£1,818,080	£1,920,279	£1,806,598

A project of sending out indigent children from Holland to be apprenticed to farmers in the Cape Colony was set on foot in 1856 by Mr. Beelaerts van Blokland, a native of Capetown, though resident since childhood in the Netherlands. Arrangements were made with great care for the safety and welfare of the children, and on the 16th of November 1856 a party of seventy-three boys and twenty girls arrived at Capetown from Rotterdam, under the care of several families who were assisted to migrate by the same agency. These children immediately found suitable employers, who undertook to repay the greater portion of the expense of sending them out. On the 13th of June 1858 one hundred and three individuals arrived at Capetown from Amsterdam, who were followed on the 8th of July by forty others; on the 8th of January 1859 one hundred and twenty-six arrived from Rotterdam; in 1860 one hundred and sixty-three, and

in 1861 one hundred and thirty-nine, arrived from Amsterdam; and subsequently a few others from Holland occasionally reached South Africa. These consisted partly of children and partly of families, some of whom settled in the colony, and others moved northward to the republics. In the course of a few years they became so mixed with the rural population as to be undistinguishable from old residents.

A few labourers were obtained from St. Helena at this time, but that island had not then many inhabitants to spare. An agent was sent from the Cape to engage as many as possible, and induced sixty-four adults and eleven children to remove. The parties into whose service they entered paid the cost of their passages with some little assistance from government.

During the session of the Cape parliament from the 7th of April to the 29th of June 1857 the subject of the great want of labourers was discussed, and on the governor's recommendation an excellent plan for obtaining a supply of artisans and—it was hoped—of farm servants was resolved upon. Public works could not then be undertaken without the introduction of men accustomed to manual labour, nor was the extension of agriculture or any other kind of industry possible without such assistance. Parliament resolved that only Europeans should be introduced. The capabilities of the colony were limited, and it would be treason to civilisation to bring in people of an inferior race, while expansion of the European element was possible. The future of South Africa was to be considered, as well as the immediate gain of the existing generation.

In this spirit the immigration act of 1857 was passed, which was immediately put in force by the government. It provided for the introduction from Great Britain of gardeners, shepherds, farm servants of all kinds, male and female, and mechanics of every description with their families, provided they were of good character, free of disease or bodily defects, never recipients of parish aid, never convicted of any offence against the laws, under

forty-five years of age unless accompanied by stalwart families, and who had been in the habit of working for wages. To such persons a free passage was given at the cost of the colonial treasury, and they were provided for until they could obtain employment.

Mr. William Field, previously collector of customs, was sent to England as emigration commissioner, and qualified agents were appointed to act under his directions. No person was to be sent out in the transports except with his approval. Depôts, under the care of immigration boards, were established at Capetown and Port Elizabeth, where the immigrants were received and provided for temporarily. In all the towns in the colony committees were formed for the purpose of collecting information, and particularly for registering applications for immigrants with rates of wages offered. These committees corresponded with the boards in Capetown and Port Elizabeth, who kept the emigration commissioner in London constantly informed of the number and class of persons needed. It was noticeable that among the applicants for farm labourers were many who had themselves come to the colony in that capacity ten years before, and who had in the interval become employers. Nearly all the emigrants sent out under this system were British born. Provision was made for engaging foreign vine-dressers and persons employed in the manufacture of wine, but only a few German families of this class were obtained. Unfortunately, too, farm and domestic servants could not be procured in numbers sufficient to meet the demand, but as many artisans as were needed offered themselves.

The first emigrant ship that conveyed passengers from Great Britain to South Africa under this system was the *Gipsey Bride*, that brought to Capetown on the 12th of May 1858 five hundred and fifteen men, women, and children, selected principally in Dumfriesshire, certainly as suitable a body of people to assist in the progress of the colony as could be wished for. On the 6th of July 1858 the *Aurifera* brought to Port Elizabeth two hundred and

twenty-seven, and on the 23rd of the same month the *Indian Queen* four hundred and three English immigrants of an excellent class. The fourth ship was the *Edward Oliver*, that brought to Capetown on the 11th of September 1858 four hundred and seventy-three mixed Scotch and English immigrants.

In this year parliament resolved that any resident in the colony could have his relatives or friends brought out free of charge, so that thereafter the immigrants were not exclusively of the class first intended to be introduced. The cost to the government of the passage of an adult of either sex was from £13 10s. to £15 10s., but the benefit to the colony of the presence of so useful an individual was regarded as greatly exceeding that amount, and the government was empowered to contract a loan at six per cent interest for immigration purposes, if there should be no surplus available from the public revenue.

In 1859 more immigrants arrived in South Africa than during any preceding year since the first European settlement. On the 23rd of January the *Vocalist* brought to Port Elizabeth four hundred and twenty individuals. On the 19th of May the *Aurifera* brought to Capetown two hundred and thirty-six, on the 28th of the same month the *New Great Britain* brought to Port Elizabeth two hundred and twenty-one, on the 27th of June the *Bride* brought to Capetown two hundred and fifty-nine, on the 8th of July the *Shah Jehan* brought to Port Elizabeth two hundred and eighty-eight, on the 26th of July the *Burlington* brought to Capetown two hundred and sixty-seven, on the 3rd of August the *Coldstream* brought to Port Elizabeth two hundred and fifty-eight, on the 23rd of September the *Lord Raglan* brought to Capetown two hundred and seventy-three, on the 9th of October the *Chatham* brought to Port Elizabeth two hundred and thirty-nine, on the 27th of October the *Matilda Atheling* brought to Capetown two hundred and eighty-five, on the 16th of November the *Bermondsey* brought to Port Elizabeth two hundred and

thirty, on the 16th of December the *Jalawar* brought to Capetown two hundred and twenty-one, on the 22nd the *Ceres* brought to Capetown two hundred, and on the 25th the *Ascendant* brought to Port Elizabeth two hundred and fifty-one.

In addition to these, a good many persons, who preferred to pay a portion of their passage money and proceed in the mail steamers rather than in the emigrant ships, were assisted with £10 for each adult, so that altogether during 1858 and 1859 six thousand three hundred and forty-three British immigrants in the prime of life and consisting of almost equal numbers of each sex were introduced under this system into the Cape Colony. Some of them arrived with extravagant ideas of the wealth they would rapidly acquire, and at first were greatly disappointed. A few also, notwithstanding all the care that was taken, were unfit to make good colonists; but the great majority throve and prospered. A striking proof of this was given in the numerous applications made by them to have their relatives and friends in England and Scotland sent out in the same manner.

Only one mishap occurred in the transport of all these people and their effects. On the 4th of September 1859 the ship *John and Lucy* left Liverpool with four hundred and six emigrants, bound to Table Bay, and on the 9th of October struck on a reef of rocks about thirty-five miles from Rio Grande on the coast of Brazil. The shore was ten or eleven miles distant, but every one on board was safely landed, as well as their effects, provisions, and sails to make temporary shelters. Six days later a steamer arrived from Rio Grande, and returned with two hundred and seventy-two of the shipwrecked people. On the 19th the British consul arrived with two small steamers, and took the others away. From Rio Grande they were all forwarded to Pernambuco, where they arrived on the 23rd. There the American barque *Ceres* was chartered, and in her two hundred reached Capetown on the 22nd of December. The

others arrived safely in the steamer *Stanley* on the 14th of January 1860.

During these years every mail steamer that arrived at Capetown brought passengers of the professional and commercial classes to make homes for themselves and their children in South Africa, though their number was not very large.

In 1859 drought of unusual severity prevailed in the greater part of the colony, and in the eastern districts especially was so prolonged that even traffic in many places was suspended and agricultural industry entirely ceased. Wednesday, the 5th of October, was set apart and generally observed as a day of humiliation and prayer to Almighty God to favour the country with seasonable rain. Later in the summer fine showers fell in some parts, but in many places there were no crops that year, and food rose to very high prices. A plague too appeared in the eastern districts for the first time in the xanthium spinosum, or burr-weed, which had been known for several years in the neighbourhood of Simonstown, but nowhere else in the colony. This noxious plant throve where everything else was perishing, spread with amazing rapidity, and threatened the sheepfarmers with heavy loss unless it could be destroyed. Under these circumstances the immigration board at Port Elizabeth began to apprehend that the eastern province could not absorb as many people in future years as were then arriving, and recommended that a smaller number should be sent out gradually until matters improved.

In the west also a great disaster overtook a large and important section of the community at this time. The vines had always been subject to rust, and occasionally the vintage was much affected by its ravages, but from other diseases they had hitherto been exempt. In October 1859 the oïdium made its appearance, and spread quickly from vineyard to vineyard. Various remedies were suggested by Dr. Pappe, the colonial botanist, but were of no avail in

checking the scourge, though sulphur was found efficacious in destroying it where it could be applied. So the ravages of the oïdium went on increasing, and threatened to extirpate the vine in the colony, until the importation of powdered sulphur in large quantities and the invention of the simple apparatus still in use for applying it to the foliage and fruit enabled the winefarmers to overcome the scourge.

Of less importance than either drought or oïdium as affecting the condition of the colony in 1859, but still not without some influence, was an outbreak of the smallpox in September 1858. In Capetown the dreaded disease prevailed to such an extent that it became necessary to open a special hospital at the Chavonnes battery, but in the course of the summer it died out, and on the 24th of January 1859 the hospital was closed. During the winter, however, the disease appeared in several of the country districts, and caused much alarm, though its ravages were small when compared with those of former years.

Owing to all these causes it was decided to limit state-aided immigration for a time, and the vote for that purpose was reduced in 1860 to £25,000, so that in this year only six transports arrived, three of which, the *Maria Somes*, the *Wellington*, and the *Royal Charlie*, brought to Capetown six hundred and seventy-five individuals, and the other three, the *Tudor*, the *John Masterton*, and the *Sedgemoor*, conveyed seven hundred and nine to Port Elizabeth. In 1861 the *Royal Albert* and the *Sedgemoor* brought to Capetown four hundred and eighty individuals, and forty-four others were sent out in a freight ship; and the *Bride*, the *Rajasthan*, and the *Coldstream* brought to Port Elizabeth seven hundred and forty-six men, women, and children.

At this time also some immigrants of an excellent class were received from Northern Germany. Many industrious agricultural families, who were disappointed in not being sent to British Kaffraria, paid their passages from Hamburg to Capetown, and came out in little parties in cargo vessels.

In 1860 two hundred and sixty-seven, and in 1861 seven hundred and forty-one men, women, and children, were thus added to the population of the colony.

South Africa was now under five distinct governments, each in a position to pursue a policy different from that of all the others. This was advantageous as far as purely local matters were concerned, but for a few Europeans, at the extremity of a continent peopled with barbarians, to be thus disunited was a matter that thoughtful men could only regret. To protect themselves union was needed, to raise the native races to a higher level a uniform mode of dealing with them was essential. The country was still in a plastic state, for time had not yet hardened the different sections so that they could not readily fuse, and circumstances were in operation in 1859 that would have made the union of at least four of the separate communities—the Cape Colony, the Orange Free State, Natal, and British Kaffraria—particularly easy. The northern republic might, and probably would, have held aloof at first; but as a small body is attracted by a large one in space and has no independent movement of its own, so the feeble state would have been compelled to follow the ideals of the powerful one until interest drew it too into union.

Sir George Grey looked at South Africa, and saw the possibility of a splendid future. Between the Kei and the Bashee the land was then almost unoccupied. So was the wide plateau at the foot of the Kathlamba, from the Indwe to Natal. If these large tracts were occupied by Europeans, what a grand province would Kaffraria not be, what a fulcrum would the lever of civilisation not have to rest upon. And it would cost Great Britain nothing, not even the maintenance of an additional battalion of troops. On the contrary, it would increase to some small, but still appreciable, extent her commerce and her manufactures. It would not wrong a single black man, and it would improve the position of many whites. But there was a great fear of expansion at the time in England, and men there

could not see that additional territory, unless occupied by hostile people, does not necessarily entail additional cost for protection. Great Britain, as undisputed mistress of the sea, had it in her power to take possession of whatever portions of the earth's surface were unclaimed by other civilised states, and what can be had for the picking up is seldom valued by nations or individuals. It was only when other powers began to grasp the waste places that her eyes were opened to their value, and then it was too late to reap all the benefits that would have been derived from earlier expansion. Palpable, therefore, as it was to Sir George Grey that a strong English settlement east of the Kei would be of great importance to South Africa, no enlargement of colonial boundaries was possible at this time.

But federation of the existing states was a different thing, and the governor could see no reason why the English people and government should object to that, for it could not add in any way to the imperial burden, but on the contrary would greatly diminish military expenditure. And so he brought the subject before the Cape parliament, when he opened the session on the 17th of March 1859, in the following words:

"I have received from the government of the Orange Free State a request that I would ascertain whether you would be inclined to promote, as far as lies in your power, a federal union with that state, and whether you would appoint a commission to meet a deputation chosen by the Free State government, to agree upon the preliminary terms of such a federal union, which it might then be practicable to submit for the approval of both governments. Your present session would afford a convenient opportunity, in connection with this application of the Free State government, for considering the whole question of the possibility of uniting the several portions of South Africa under some common government.

"You would, in my belief, confer a lasting benefit upon Great Britain, and upon the inhabitants of this country, if

you could succeed in devising a form of federal union under which the several provinces comprising it should have full and free scope of action left to them, through their own local governments and legislatures, upon all subjects relating to their individual prosperity and happiness, whilst they should act under a general federal government in relation to all points which concerned the general safety or weal.

"Under such a form of government, a number of the inhabitants in each province would be trained to take general views upon the highest subjects relating to the general welfare. No war could be entered upon but with the consent of the general government representing all the provinces. If any dispute arose between any of the provinces and a native chief, the demands made upon such chief would be most probably just ones, for they would be considered by a large and impartial body, and they would, from this cause, and from the known power of the federation by which they were made, command respect.

"Under such a system it may, I think, be reasonably expected that additional security would be obtained throughout all South Africa for life and property; that the greatest confidence would be reposed in the decisions of the courts of justice constituted by the general government; that an additional stimulus and encouragement would be given to talent, by the openings offered to it in the senate, on the judicial bench, or at the bar; that increased facilities would be given to trade and commerce, by uniformity of insolvent laws and laws regulating bills of exchange, as also of judicial decisions relating to mercantile causes.

"Prosperity and contentment would also follow from a fair proportionate application, throughout the whole of South Africa, of the general customs revenues, to which all alike contribute, whilst a great increase in the revenues would follow from the stimulus given to trade and industry by peace and prosperity, so that the very province, or provinces, which might abandon a share of the whole revenues they now enjoy, might reasonably hope to gain more than they gave up.

"At present, South Africa, broken up into various European and native states, some of which are almost without revenues, without firm governments, and are involved in intestine and foreign disputes, appears to be drifting into an uncertain and gloomy future, to provide against the exigencies of which it is in a great degree powerless, whilst under a good system of federation, the inhabitants of the southern part of this continent would be able to unite for their common interests and defence, and to provide, year by year, for the exigencies of the country as these might arise."

There had been some correspondence between Sir George Grey and Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, who on the 31st of May 1858 succeeded Lord Stanley at the colonial office, concerning the union under a common government of the different British possessions in South Africa, in which the governor had been asked for his opinion; and he, knowing that this could not be effected for geographical reasons without the inclusion of the Orange Free State in order to form one compact territory, or for political reasons without the consent of the Cape parliament, believed that he was justified in thus bringing the question forward. The members of the executive council concurred in this view, and advised him to act as he did. On the other hand, in reply to a request made by him to Lord Stanley for instructions as to what answer he should give if application were made to him by the inhabitants of the Orange Free State for union with the Cape Colony under a federal form of government, Sir E. B. Lytton on the 5th of November 1858 had directed him to state that he could say nothing without previous instructions from her Majesty's government. Thus, much as every one interested in South Africa must now deplore that Sir George Grey's grand designs were thwarted, it is evident that in advocating federal union between the British possessions and a republic that would then cease to be independent, he did so without the previous knowledge and consent of the imperial authorities. And there is, and undoubtedly

should be, an understood and defined limit to the action of a governor in matters of such great importance, for otherwise control of any kind would cease.

On the 22nd of December 1858 he informed Sir E. B. Lytton that the volksraad of the Orange Free State had on the 7th of that month passed a resolution that "this raad is convinced that a union or alliance with the Cape Colony, whether on the basis of federation or otherwise, is desirable, and therefore resolves to request his Honour the president to correspond with his Excellency the governor upon that subject, in order, by that means, to learn whether the Cape parliament will show itself disposed towards such union, and whether the government of the colony will receive a commission from the Orange Free State, at some town in the eastern province, if practicable, for the purpose of planning the approximate terms of such union with that government or with a commission appointed by it, such terms to be hereafter submitted for the approval of both governments." He added that it was apparent that the Orange Free State was inclined to enter into such a federation as he had proposed, and therefore no insuperable difficulties would exist in carrying it out if her Majesty's government were disposed to regard it as being likely to promote the interests of the empire.

To this he received a reply, dated 11th of February 1859, that "her Majesty's government were not prepared to depart from the settled policy of their predecessors by advising the resumption of British sovereignty in any shape over the Orange Free State." When this despatch was received the governor recognised for the first time that federation such as he had proposed was absolutely prohibited, and he at once informed the houses of parliament that her Majesty's government refused to consent to the resumption of dominion over the Free State. The subject then dropped, and thus the favourable opportunity for the federation of the European settlements in South Africa was hopelessly lost.

On the 5th of May 1859 the secretary of state informed the governor that he had just received a copy of the speech

at the opening of parliament, and had read with great surprise and regret that passage in it which contained an invitation to consider the propriety of a federal union with the Orange Free State and still further to appoint a commission to meet a deputation from that state to agree upon the preliminary terms of such a union. Without loss of time he felt bound to express the disapproval of her Majesty's government, but reserved till the next mail his final decision in the case.

On the 4th of June that decision was announced. Sir George Grey was informed that he had placed her Majesty's government in England, as well as the local government under his charge, in a position of extreme embarrassment and difficulty. The Cape parliament was then fully acquainted with the fact that a course of policy which he had sedulously recommended in his opening speech was one which the crown had been distinctly advised by its ministers then in office not to adopt. This question of policy was one on which difference of opinion between a governor and the home authorities could not be overlooked as of minor consequence. It was, on the contrary, one of the highest and most vital importance at once to the Cape Colony and to the mother country. It was for her Majesty's government alone to determine whether steps should be taken towards annexing or reannexing extensive regions, then under independent governments, to the empire. This being the case, they had come, with great and painful reluctance, to the conclusion that he had so far compromised them and endangered the success of that policy which they deemed right and expedient in South Africa, that his continuance in the administration of the government of the Cape could be no longer of service to public interests.

Two other instances of his acting upon his own responsibility, without previous instructions from the secretary of state—the introduction of German immigrants and financial arrangements in British Kaffraria—were also alluded to in this despatch. His great ability and merits were recognised,

but her Majesty's government could not safely continue to entrust with his present functions one committed, as he had committed himself, to a policy of which they disapproved on a subject of the first importance, nor could they expect from him the necessary assistance, when steps, which he had taken without that authority, had of necessity to be retraced.

The feeling throughout South Africa when this became known was one not alone of deep regret, but of general consternation. The Europeans recalled to mind that the two ablest and most popular of the preceding governors, Sir Benjamin D'Urban and Sir Harry Smith, had been deprived of office, and their projects for the improvement of the country had been reversed, because those projects were not appreciated by the dominant party in England. And now Sir George Grey was made to suffer in the same manner. But a new factor was in evidence in South African politics, which had no existence in the time of Sir Benjamin D'Urban or of Sir Harry Smith, a factor which owed its being to the benevolent measures of Sir George Grey with regard to the Bantu and blacks generally. These people recognised that in losing him they were losing one who had become to them as a father, and their sorrow was consequently keen. Those among them who were capable of giving expression to their feelings therefore joined with the English and Dutch colonists in petitions to the queen that she would be pleased to restore to them the governor who had such a strong claim on their affections and their esteem.

On the 18th of June 1859, just a fortnight after the despatch removing Sir George Grey was written, the earl of Derby was succeeded as prime minister by Lord Palmerston, and the duke of Newcastle became secretary of state for the colonies. One of the first subjects that he investigated was that of recent transactions in South Africa, and, after carefully considering all the circumstances, he announced that he agreed with Sir E. B. Lytton in strong disapproval of the governor's conduct, not only in respect of the

question of federation, but also of the introduction of German immigrants and the expenditure incurred in British Kaffraria. Such repudiation of the authority of the home government in matters of general policy, and on subjects involving outlay from imperial funds, could never be tolerated without an entire abandonment of the duty of the secretary of state.

But he bore in mind that Sir George Grey was in the midst of a great work, engaged in for the benefit of the coloured people and the establishment of peaceful relations between them and the colonists. He recognised the governor's eminent public services and proved fitness for tasks of this important and difficult character, and he was unwilling to interrupt that work. The ministry was ready, therefore, to continue Sir George Grey in office, but upon the condition that he felt himself sufficiently free and uncompromised with the Cape parliament and the inhabitants of the Orange Free State to be able personally to carry into effect the policy of her Majesty's government, which was entirely opposed to those measures tending to the resumption of authority over that state of which he had publicly expressed his approval.

This despatch was written on the 4th of August, but before it could reach South Africa Sir George Grey was on his way to England. On the 20th of August he transferred the administration to Lieutenant-General Robert Henry Wynyard, who three months before—on the 20th of May—had succeeded Sir James Jackson as lieutenant-governor and commander of the forces, and on the following day he left South Africa.

During the administration of General Wynyard nothing of much importance took place. An officer who is acting only temporarily cannot initiate any large schemes, and merely keeps the machinery of government in motion in the groove in which he finds it.

The colony was now assisting greatly in its own defence. It had been Sir George Grey's desire to relieve Great

Britain of military expenditure as much as possible, and he had therefore encouraged the formation of bands of volunteers, of which there were at this time over twenty enrolled, armed, and drilled in the principal towns and villages, mustering in all thirteen hundred men. The frontier armed and mounted police, a purely colonial force, mustered six hundred men exclusive of officers, and was a most efficient body of light cavalry. The men who held their farms under military tenure on the frontier and in British Kaffraria were also an excellent defensive force, and since 1854, no military operations in the country had been conducted except by colonists and at the cost of the colonial treasury. Still, in 1860 Great Britain maintained in South Africa five battalions of troops, including the Cape mounted rifles, then nearly a thousand strong. In April 1859 the 45th left for England, and in March 1860 the first battalion of the 2nd sailed for China. In April 1859 the second battalion of the 13th arrived from England, and in February 1860 the second battalion of the 10th from Ireland. These, with the 59th and 85th, whose arrival has already been mentioned, were in garrison in Capetown and in posts on the frontier, in British Kaffraria, and Natal. Altogether, these four infantry battalions mustered about three thousand two hundred and fifty rank and file. There were also a few engineers and artillerymen, stationed at the principal posts.

Sir George Grey found on his arrival in England that the ministry, the opposition, and the people generally were inflexibly opposed to any extension of the empire. They listened patiently to his arguments in favour of the union of South Africa under the British flag, but refused to be convinced. Only a few far-seeing men concurred in his opinion as to the advantages, alike to the mother country and to its offshoots, that would arise from great members of the empire beyond the seas, strong enough to protect themselves from internal foes, rich enough to carry on an enormously extended commerce, and bound together by the

strongest ties of affection and interest, because absolutely free to shape their destinies according to their own wishes. Like Sir Harry Smith, he was in advance of his time, but he was even more liberal than his distinguished predecessor, for he favoured responsible parliamentary government for the colony.

But, though his grandest views were thwarted, there was still much that he could do in South Africa, and it was a land that he loved. He knew its people, knew how baseless were the charges of semi-barbarism so often made against the old colonists, recognised in them as well as in the British dwellers on the same soil a sturdy, brave, liberty-loving people, and he was willing to devote himself to the task of striving to bring the two races more closely together for the benefit of both. In the coloured people also he took a very warm interest; they could be led onward in the path of civilisation, and brought to do their share in the progress of the country. And so he abandoned what he saw was impossible of accomplishment, and consented to return as governor and high commissioner on the condition laid down by the duke of Newcastle. On the 4th of July 1860 he arrived in Simon's Bay again in the frigate *Forte*, and was received with the warmest acclamations of welcome by all classes of the people.

CHAPTER XLI.

BRITISH KAFFRARIA FROM 1854 TO 1857.

In British Kaffraria Sir George Grey found matters in a very unsatisfactory state. The few Europeans in the province were under his direct government as high commissioner, but nothing definite had yet been decided upon by the imperial authorities as to the form of its administration or the settlement of the crown reserve. On the 14th of December 1850 letters patent constituting the territory a separate dependency of Great Britain with a lieutenant-governor had been issued, but they had never been promulgated, and were now regarded as obsolete. Sir George Cathcart proposed to the imperial authorities that the land north of the Amatola range, that is the tract usually termed in South Africa the Bontebok flats, should be annexed to the Cape Colony, which was approved of, and on the 7th of March 1854 letters patent were issued to that effect; the crown reserve, or the whole of the forest belt below the range, he left in nearly the same condition as the district between the Fish and the Keiskama under Lord Charles Somerset's arrangement with Gaika in 1819. To the Xosa chiefs in the remainder of the territory he had restored absolute independence as far as the government of their own people was concerned. Even murder of one native by another was not noticed, and when a man fled to a military post for protection against a witchfinder he was told that he must apply to his chief for redress, because no European court was open to him. Colonel John Maclean remained with the title of chief commissioner, and resided

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at Fort Murray, and Mr. Charles Brownlee, who had the title of Gaika commissioner, resided at Dohne, but neither was more than a diplomatic agent. Scattered about at different posts were two thousand four hundred and seventy-eight officers and soldiers, with two thousand two hundred and twenty-eight others to support them in case of need at stations in the colony.

Sir George Cathcart in a letter to Colonel Maclean, dated 19th of January 1854, stated his views concisely: "military control, not colonization, is the principle of policy which has induced me to advise the retention of Kaffraria as a separate government, independent of the colony of the Cape, instead of annexing it as a new colonial division, or abandoning it altogether." Accordingly he had not allowed any Europeans to settle in it except a few camp followers, to whom permission was given to reside temporarily at the military posts at Keiskama Hoek, Izeli, and Dohne, where they could be of service to the troops. The residents in King-Williamstown were allowed to remain, but they were only a few hundred in number. Captain Richard Taylor, a retired officer of the rifle brigade, was stationed here as resident magistrate, but he had jurisdiction over Europeans only. With the exception of the crown reserve, the entire district was parcelled out among the Kaffir clans, though military posts, with circles of land four miles in diameter kept open around them, were scattered about.

Under this system there could be no improvement. Sir George Grey saw this at once, and resolved to make a great change. His first step was to induce the chiefs to accept a fixed salary from government, in return for which they were to surrender their right to fines imposed on their people, and to admit a European agent appointed by him to sit in their courts as an assessor. The fines were to be paid into the territorial treasury. Some of the chiefs demurred to this, especially to giving up their right to fines for murder and aggravated assault, as that would imply the renunciation of their claim to their people as personal property, but

ultimately they all gave their consent. Lieutenant Henry Lucas, of the 45th regiment, was then appointed magistrate with Makoma, Captain Robert Jameson Eustace Robertson, of the 60th regiment, magistrate with Anta, Major John Cox Gawler, of the 73rd regiment, magistrate with Umhala, Captain Frederick Reeve, of the 73rd regiment, magistrate with Kama, and Mr. Herbert Vigne magistrate with Pato. Mr. Charles Brownlee was directed to act in the same capacity with Sandile.

The next step was to induce the Kaffirs to become industrious. For this purpose roads were laid out in various parts of British Kaffraria, and bands of natives were engaged to work on them under European overseers. They came forward readily even at first when they were asked to work in parties where they could have the companionship of their fellows, and where ample rations of beef, millet, and tobacco were provided for them, in addition to wages at the rate of six pence a day for each man. They seldom remained, however, longer than two or three months at a time, when they returned to their homes for a period of rest. They soon became fairly expert with the pickaxe, shovel, and barrow, though they never were able to do as much as English labourers.

Watercourses were also made, one in King-Williamstown to supply the military post and the residents, and one at the kraal of each important chief to irrigate a large plot of ground. It was hoped by this means that the chiefs and people would come to see the value of such undertakings, and that with abundance of grain for their own use and for sale, they would be more contented and happy.

At the mouth of the Buffalo river in October 1856 the construction of training walls was commenced under direction of Mr. Woodford Pilkington, a civil engineer. The object was to narrow the outlet of the stream and turn its course in the same direction as that of the current along the coast, instead of their meeting at a right angle. It was hoped that this would cause such a strong flow of water at the time of

falling tide that the sand bar, which prevented the entrance of vessels into the deep and large basin higher up, would be washed away. The work was not carried very far, however, at this time.

To break the belief of the Kaffirs in the power of witchcraft, Sir George Grey resolved to build a hospital where sick natives could have the benefit of medical treatment free of charge. Already some cases which had been given up as hopeless by native practitioners, and which had been pronounced by them to be due to powerful witchcraft, had been successfully treated at Dohne Post by Dr. H. Veriker Bindon, of the 6th regiment, and this had excited much attention among the Gaikas. A large and constant demand was made upon Dr. Bindon's benevolence by sick persons, who were brought to him by their friends for treatment. The high commissioner therefore caused the fine building in King-Williamstown ever since termed the Grey Hospital to be put up, and attached spacious grounds to it on all sides. The work was carried out largely by military labourers, but Kaffirs were employed to assist as much as possible. A talented and amiable physician, Dr. J. P. Fitzgerald, with whom Sir George Grey had been acquainted in New Zealand, was secured to take charge. In February 1856 he arrived, and soon had the institution in perfect working order. Two other physicians skilled in special branches, Doctors Charles James Egan and James Peters, and a qualified dispenser were then added to the staff. In the hospital sick natives were received, wherever they came from, and were maintained and tended without payment as long as they needed such assistance. It proved in time a powerful agency in counteracting the belief in diseases being caused by witchcraft, but the impression made upon the people generally was slower and more gradual in its operation than the high commissioner had anticipated.

The establishment of industrial schools in which native children could be taught the trades of the carpenter, smith, waggonmaker, and other mechanics, was encouraged by Sir George Grey. Two such institutions that have since been

greatly developed, and are still doing excellent work: that at Healdtown in the district of Fort Beaufort, established by the Wesleyan society, and that at Lovedale in the district of Victoria East, established by the Free Church of Scotland, were grafted upon earlier mission schools at this time, and received subsidies from the government. These were, however, beyond the border of British Kaffraria.

All these items cost money, and the revenue of the province was trifling. But the imperial authorities supported the views of Sir George Grey for the reclamation of the Kaffirs, and in each of the years 1855, 1856, and 1857 supplied him with £40,000 to carry them into effect.

For the security of the province, and to enable the garrison to be reduced, the high commissioner proposed to the secretary of state to introduce European settlers on a plan that he had tried with excellent results in New Zealand. On the 7th of March 1855 he wrote asking that one thousand families of enrolled pensioners should be sent out at once, to be followed gradually by four thousand families more. He intended to station these people at the different military posts, and to provide each family with a cottage and an acre of ground, to which title should be given after seven years occupation. The settlers would have their pensions and their gardens to live upon, and their children, he believed, would find better openings as they grew up in British Kaffraria than they could in England.

So convinced was he that this plan would be successful that he at once set about preparing cottages in King-Williamstown for the first families that should arrive. Adjoining the village then existing two long streets crossing each other at right angles were laid out, and on each side of them plots of ground were marked off, on which in the winter of 1855 military labourers began to put up cottages. They were built of brick, and covered with thatch, the roof projecting in front to form a verandah. Each contained two rooms, and as two cottages adjoined and were under

one roof, the cost of erection was only between £30 and £40 for each. The name of the officer who laid off Queen-street and Cambridge-road in King-Williamstown, and who superintended the erection of the first cottages along them, is of mournful interest in South Africa, being George Pomeroy Colley. He was then a lieutenant in the 2nd regiment. When the proposal was made to them, a sufficient number of married enrolled pensioners in England declined to remove to British Kaffraria, and the cottages were then given to married soldiers—mostly non-commissioned officers—discharged in the province. The part of the town in which they stand is still known as the Pensioners' village.

After the failure of this plan of introducing settlers, the imperial authorities resolved to send out volunteers from the British German legion, a corps that had been raised for service in the Crimea and that was not needed after April 1856, when peace was concluded with Russia. An offer was made to the men of the legion if they would proceed as military settlers to British Kaffraria to send them out and disband them there. They were to agree to remain seven years in the province after being located, and were to receive free rations or an equivalent in money for themselves and their families for one year, six pence a day for three years, an acre of ground and a building lot in a village, right of grazing cattle over a commonage, £18 in money towards the cost of building a cottage, their arms and camp equipments, and the temporary use of tents. To the officers proportional advantages were offered. As it was believed that the settlement of the legion in British Kaffraria on these conditions would tend greatly towards the protection of the Cape Colony, the secretary of state thought that part of the expense should be defrayed by the colonists, in which view the Cape parliament concurred, on the understanding that the men would be accompanied by their wives and families, and on the 30th of May 1856 voted £40,000 for the purpose, with a promise of a further amount of £6,000 or £7,000 yearly.

It was supposed that the whole of the legion would volunteer, but the majority of the men declined to do so. Those who accepted the terms embarked in seven steam transports, together with the wives and children of a few of them who had in the meantime been brought over to England from Germany. Then permission was given to the single men to take English wives with them, and two hundred and three marriages were entered into on board the ships just before they sailed. The first of the steamers arrived in Table Bay on the 30th of December 1856, the last on the 9th of February 1857, and they brought out one hundred and six officers, thirty-eight wives of officers, two thousand two hundred and forty-five men, three hundred and forty-three women, and one hundred and seventy-eight children. These immigrants were conveyed to East London, and there distributed in various villages in British Kaffraria, to most of which German names, such as Breidbach, Berlin, Potsdam, etc., were thereafter given. To the post at Dohne the title of the commander of the legion, the baron von Stutterheim, was given; it is now again often termed Dohne, but the district of which it is the seat of magistracy is called the district of Stutterheim. A considerable number of the men were located in King-Williamstown, on ground adjoining the Pensioners' village. The town thus assumed the straggling appearance which it long presented, though of late years the population has so increased that the open spaces have been built upon, and it is now compact from end to end. The part upon which the men of the legion were located is still called the German village.

Before the arrival of the legion and the occupation of the Pensioners' village in King-Williamstown, there were only nine hundred and forty-nine Europeans other than military residing in British Kaffraria. Of these, six hundred and twenty-six were in King-Williamstown, two hundred and sixty-seven at various military posts, and fifty-six at mission stations. There were one hundred and twenty-four Europeans resident in East London, which was not then part of the

province. Of the whole, four hundred and twenty-four were men, two hundred and seven women, and four hundred and forty-two children.

Peace with the Xosas and Tembus was hardly concluded when the frontier colonists became apprehensive that it would not be maintained long, and indeed the conduct of the leading chiefs gave them abundant cause for suspicion. It soon became evident that a close union between Pato's clan and the Gaikas was being formed, and that the Fingos were being tampered with. Professions of friendship towards those people were openly made by chiefs who had previously never spoken of them but as of dogs, matrimonial connections with them were encouraged, and offences against them were severely punished.

From the time of the first settlement of Fingos in the district of Peddie by Sir Benjamin D'Urban, some thoughtful men had regarded as extremely hazardous the experiment of placing parties of barbarians on the border to protect the colony from other barbarians speaking the same language and having similar customs, though a violent feud existed between them; but it was only when Sir Harry Smith, through sheer necessity, brought in another large body of the same people that general alarm was felt. Their old locations had already become overcrowded, through an amazing natural increase added to a constant influx of strangers from beyond the Kei. The chiefs were clamorous for more land, and if they were permitted to occupy a tract of country temporarily were loud in complaints if they were afterwards required to abandon it. Men who knew them well were of opinion that as long as the government had anything to give the Fingos would be faithful, but when nothing was left to dispose of trouble was to be expected from them.

In the session of parliament in 1855 a committee of the legislative council, that was appointed to investigate this matter, on the 21st of May reported that early in October 1854 indications of restlessness and excitement among the

Fingos residing on the locations in the divisions of Victoria East and Fort Beaufort were first observed and brought under the notice of government. This state of feeling did not appear to have been confined to any particular location, but to have existed generally among the Fingos on the immediate frontier. No overt act sufficient to excite general apprehension of danger on the part of the European inhabitants had been committed, however, either by any of the Kaffir chiefs or the headmen of the Fingos, with one exception. Jokweni, a Fingo chief residing near Fort Peddie, taking advantage of the excited feelings of his countrymen, had made overtures to some of the Kaffir chiefs, stating that the government was about to institute laws under which they could not live, that his sympathies were with those of his own race, and that he desired again to reside with his people among the Kaffirs, for the purpose of being beyond reach of British authority.

These overtures were favourably entertained by the Kaffirs. A large beer-drinking meeting was held, at which most of the border chiefs were present, as well as several Fingos of influence. At this meeting the expediency of forming an alliance with the Fingos was discussed, and the conclusion arrived at was that such an alliance was desirable and that it should be promoted by intermarriage, the chiefs and headmen first setting the example. The proposed confederacy of the tribes for hostile purposes was prospective, there being no evidence to show that any immediate outbreak was intended. Through the vigilance of the chief commissioner in British Kaffraria, early intimation of the proceedings of this meeting was forwarded to the government, and prompt measures were taken by the lieutenant-general in command of the forces to provide against any emergency. These precautionary measures, and the arrival of a detachment of troops at the Buffalo mouth, checked any hostile intentions, if such existed, on the part of the adjacent clans, but they added to the excitement generally felt by the European residents

along the border, by rousing apprehensions of immediate danger.

Shortly after the above report was made to parliament it became known that Kreli was seeking to form alliances with the tribes behind him, and that there was a close though secret intercourse between him and the Basuto chief Moshesh. Instead of subsiding therefore, the state of uneasiness continued through 1855, and at the beginning of 1856 proofs that hostile intentions were entertained by the chiefs were so strong that Sir James Jackson urged upon the military authorities in England the necessity of immediately reinforcing the garrison with four or five regiments. The apparent cordial reception of the governor's plans by the leading chiefs had been intended by them merely to deceive him, as they subsequently admitted, for they regarded the existing condition of things not as peace, but as a truce. Sir George Grey hoped that hostilities might be averted if the British pensioners or the German legion should arrive at once, but was disappointed when none of the former came out, and such a small proportion of the latter.

Meantime some of the best troops that had served during the war had been withdrawn from South Africa. In November 1853 the first battalion of the rifle brigade left for England, and in December of the same year the 12th lancers, the 43rd, and the 74th highlanders were sent to India. In July 1855 the reserve battalion of the 91st left for England. There were left in the colony, British Kaffraria, and Natal the first battalion of the 2nd, the 6th, the second battalion of the 12th, the united battalions of the 45th, the second battalion of the 60th, and the 73rd, in all six battalions, some of which were defective in numerical strength. In addition to these there was the Cape mounted rifle regiment, now a mixed body of Europeans and Hottentots, and the frontier armed and mounted police, by far the most serviceable body of men on the border.

Early in 1856 matters looked so threatening that the governor forwarded every available soldier from Capetown

to the frontier, and sent a steam ship of war to Mauritius to ask for assistance. The government of Mauritius complied with his request, and in June 1856 the 85th regiment, supplied by that island, landed at Port Elizabeth, and marched at once to the border. In September the first battalion of the 13th and the 80th regiment arrived from England and were immediately added to the force on the frontier, and the 89th came out at the same time, but one wing was kept in Capetown. Recruits for the other regiments were also supplied, so that the South African garrison was made up to ten strong battalions.

The spread of the lung sickness among cattle from the Cape Colony into British Kaffraria in 1855 tended to increase the disposition of the people for war. It made its appearance first among the herds of Pato and Umhala, and was attributed by the people to witchcraft caused by the white man. It was of no use telling them that the colonists' own herds had suffered greatly from the disease, so that Europeans were not likely to have been the originators of it, for they seemed to have lost the power of reasoning on the matter. In presence of the calamity, which they could not explain, nothing was too improbable or absurd for them to believe.

Matters were in this condition when one morning in May 1856 a girl about thirteen or fourteen years of age, named Nongqause, daughter of a councillor of Kreli, went to draw water from a little stream that flowed past her home. On her return, she informed her father's brother—a man who long before this had professed to have wonderful visions—that she had seen by the river some men who differed greatly in appearance from those she was accustomed to meet. Umhlakaza, as her uncle was named, went to see the strangers, and found them at the place indicated. They told him to return to his hut and purify himself with the usual ceremonies, after which he was to offer an ox in sacrifice to the spirits of the dead, and to come back to them on the fourth day. There was that in their

appearance which commanded obedience, and so the man did as they bade him.

On the fourth day, purified and clean, Umhlakaza went to the river again. The strange people were there as before, and, to his astonishment, he recognised among them his brother who had been many years dead. Then, for the first time, he learned who and what they were. The inveterate enemies of the white man, they announced themselves as having come from battle fields beyond the sea, to aid the Xosas with their invincible power in driving the English from the land. Between them and the chiefs Umhlakaza was to be the medium of communication, the channel through whom thenceforth instruction would be given. For strange things were to be done, stranger than any that had ever been done before, if the proffered assistance was welcomed. And first, he must tell the people to abandon dealing in witchcraft, to kill fat cattle and eat. Such is the tale which the Xosas told each other of the manner in which Umhlakaza and Nongqause became acquainted with the secrets of the spirit world.

Kreli heard the message with joy. It may be that he really believed the assertions of Umhlakaza, or perhaps, as many of the colonists suspected, he was the instigator of the whole scheme. At any rate his word went forth that the command of the spirits was to be obeyed, that the best of all the cattle were to be slaughtered and eaten. Messengers from him hastened to the chiefs on the western side of the Kei, to inform them of what had taken place, and to solicit their coöperation. Instantly all Kaffirland was in a state of commotion. Makoma, Umhala, Pato, Stokwe, and many other men of note commenced to kill. The high commissioner sent word to the Galeka chief that though in his own territory he could do as he pleased, he must cease from instigating those who were British subjects to destroy their property, or it would become necessary to punish him. But he cared little for such a threat, as he believed the time was at hand when the tables would be

turned and the punished become the punisher. Sandile, hesitating and timid, acting too under the eye of the Gaika commissioner, declined at first to obey Umhlakaza's bidding, as did also Anta and Oba. Kama not only refused to join Pato and the others, but did all in his power to counteract the mischief they were causing. Many of his heathen followers, however, finding that either their loyalty to him or to the supreme head of their tribe must be abandoned, preferred to renounce the first. Siwani and his people escaped the general infection. Umkayi was dead.

The revelations communicated through Umhlakaza and Nongqause grew apace. The girl, standing in the river in presence of a multitude of deluded people, heard strange unearthly sounds beneath her feet, which her uncle pronounced to be the voices of spirits holding high council over the affairs of men. The first order was to slay cattle, but the greedy ghosts seemed insatiable in their demands. More and more were killed, but still never enough. Thus the delusion continued month after month, every day spreading wider and embracing fresh victims in its grasp. It extended even to that section of the Tembu tribe which had always been more or less closely allied with the Xosas, and none carried out the order to kill more thoroughly than the clans under Vadana and the old chief Kwesha.

In all parts of the country minor impostors arose, who pretended to have had visions and to have received communications from spirits. The most noteworthy of these was a girl named Nonkosi, only nine years of age, the daughter of a man named Kulwana, a witchfinder of Umhala's clan. This girl, who became known as the Umpongo prophetess, was exceedingly intelligent and fond of being taken notice of. She had some Hottentot blood in her veins, which showed itself in her lighter skin and high cheek bones. Standing in a marsh near the bank of the Umpongo, a little stream which flows through the present village of Maclean, she professed to hear spirits conversing, and announced what they said. In October 1857, after her parents and all her

relatives had died of starvation, she was brought to Colonel Maclean, and admitted to him that she had been instigated by men in Umhala's confidence to act as she had done. Her revelations differed in some respects from those of Umhlakaza as to the events that would take place, still the infatuated people believed that the one corroborated the other.

After a time Sandile gave way to the urgent applications of his brother Makoma, who asserted that he had himself seen and conversed with the spirits of two of his father's dead councillors, and that these commanded Sandile to kill his cattle if he would not perish with the white man. Before this time the last order of Umhlakaza had been given, that order whose fulfilment was to be the final preparation of the Kaffirs, after which they would be worthy the aid of a spirit host. Not a goat, ox, or cow out of all their herds must be left living, every grain of corn in their granaries must be destroyed, no garden must be planted, nothing but horses and weapons of war must be preserved. But what a future of glory and wealth was predicted for the faithful and obedient! On a certain day countless herds of cattle, not subject to disease and more beautiful than any they were called upon to kill, should issue from the earth and cover the pastures far and wide. Great fields of millet, ripe and ready for eating, should in an instant spring into existence. The ancient heroes of the race, the great and the wise of years gone by, restored to life on that happy day, would appear and take part in the joys of the faithful. Trouble and sickness would be known no more, nor would the frailties of old age oppress them, for youth and beauty were to return alike to the risen dead and the feeble living. Such was the picture of paradise painted by the Kaffir prophet, and held before the eyes of the infatuated people. And dreadful was to be the fate of those who opposed the will of the spirits, or neglected to obey their commands. The day that was to bring so much joy to the loyal would bring nothing but destruction for them. A great hurricane would sweep them into the sea together with the white people, was his latest

announcement, previously he had declared that the sky would fall and crush them.

Missionaries and agents of the government tried in vain to stay the mad proceedings. A delirious frenzy possessed the minds of the Kaffirs, they would listen to no argument, brook no opposition. White men were scowled upon, and warned to take care of themselves, natives were silenced in a summary manner. Yet these fanatics, with their imaginations fixed on boundless wealth, were eagerly purchasing trifles from English traders, bartering away the hides of two hundred thousand slaughtered cattle. It is certain that most of them acted under the influence of superstition alone, though there is no doubt that some of the leaders viewed the entire proceeding as calculated solely for purposes of war. To throw the whole Xosa tribe with its Tembu allies, fully armed and in a famishing state, upon the colony, was the end kept steadily in view by these. The terrible odds against the success of such a venture they were too blind to see, or too excited to calculate.

Some there were who neither believed the predictions of Umhlakaza nor looked for success in war, and who yet destroyed the last particle of their food. Buku, Kreli's uncle, was one of these. "It is the chief's command," he said, and then, when nothing more was left, the old man and his favourite wife sat down in their empty kraal and died. Kreli's principal councillor opposed the scheme till he saw that words were useless. Then, observing that all he had was his chief's, he gave the order to kill and waste, and fled from the place a raving lunatic. Thus it was with thousands. The chief commanded, and they obeyed.

At the beginning of 1857 an unwonted activity reigned throughout Kaffirland. Great kraals were being prepared for the reception of the cattle so soon to appear like stars of the sky in multitude. Enormous skin sacks were being made ready to contain the milk shortly to be like water in plenty. Huts were being strengthened and carefully thatched, that they might withstand the violence of the

hurricane which was to sweep the unbelievers and the white people into the sea. And even as they worked, some were starving. To the eastward of the Kei the prophet's command had been obeyed to the letter, but the resurrection day was still postponed. It was in mercy to the Gaikas, said Umhlakaza, for Sandile and Anta had not finished killing yet. Nothing surely was ever more clumsily arranged, more blindly carried out than this mad act of the Xosas and Tembus. Here was one section of the people literally starving, while another section was still engaged destroying its resources. Mr. Brownlee had not been able to save the Gaikas, but by keeping Sandile from killing so long he had done much towards preventing a desperate raid into the colony.

After several postponements, Umhlakaza finally fixed upon a time of the moon which corresponded with Wednesday the 18th of February 1857 as the day upon which the cattle and the mighty dead were to appear, when the millet fields were to spring into existence, and all the other strange events to happen. He had previously declared that two blood-red suns would rise on the resurrection day, but now he stated that the ordinary sun after rising would wander about for a while in the sky and then set again in the east, after which the hurricane would follow. This last announcement, however, was not made known at the time to the Rarabe clans.

The government did all that was possible to protect the frontier. Every post was strengthened, and every available soldier was sent forward. The colonists, too, were prepared to meet the shock, come when it would. And then, after defence was provided for, stores of food were accumulated by the high commissioner at King-Williamstown and Dohne for the purpose of saving life. His was not a heart so cold as not to feel pity for those misguided beings who were rushing so frantically into certain destruction.

At length the morning dawned of the 18th of February, the day so long and so ardently looked for. The Galekas

and some of the others had shut themselves in their huts in order not to be blown away, but most of the Rarabes and the allied Tembus had watched all night long, with feelings stretched to the utmost tension of excitement, expecting to see the two blood-red suns rise over the eastern horizon, when the sky would fall and crush those they hated. Famished with hunger, half dying as they were, that night was yet a time of fierce, delirious joy. The morning that a few hours would usher in was to see all their sorrows ended, all their misery past. And so they waited and watched. The sun rose as usual, and the hearts of the watchers sank within them. "What," said they, "will become of us if Umhlakaza's predictions turn out untrue?" It was the first time they had asked such a question, the dawn of doubt had never entered their thoughts till the dawn of the fatal day. But perhaps after all it might be noon that was meant, and when the shadows began to lengthen towards the east, perhaps, thought they, the setting of the sun is the time. The sun went down, and the Xosas and Tembus woke to the realities of their dreadful position.

A blunder, such as a child would hardly have made, had been committed by the managers of this horrible tragedy. Under pretence of witnessing the resurrection, they should have assembled the whole of the fighting men at some point from which they could have burst upon the colony. This had not been done, and now it was too late to collect them together. An attempt was made to rectify the blunder, and the day of resurrection was again postponed, but fierce excitement had given place to deepest despair. The only chance of life that remained to many was to reach the colony, but it was as suppliants not as warriors that starving men must go.

The horrors that succeeded can only be partly told. There are men living still who were then wild naked fugitives, and who cannot recount the events of those days. The whole scene comes home to them as a hideous nightmare, or as the remembrances of one in a state of delirium.

In many instances all the ties were broken that bind human beings to each other in every condition of society. Brother fought with brother, father with son, for scraps and shreds of those great milk sacks so carefully made in the days when hope was high. The aged, the sick, the feeble, were abandoned by the young and vigorous. All kinds of wild plants, and even the roots of trees, were collected for food. Many of those who were near the seacoast endeavoured to support life upon the shellfish found there. Being unaccustomed to such diet, they were attacked by dysentery, which completed the work of famine. In other instances whole families sat down and died together. From fifteen to twenty skeletons were afterwards often found under a single tree, showing how parents and children met their fate when the last ray of hope had gone. A continuous stream of emaciated beings poured into the colony, young men and women mostly, but sometimes fathers and mothers bearing on their backs half-dying children. Before the farm houses they would sit down, and ask in the most piteous tones for food, nor did they ask in vain.

Worse instances even than these remain to be told. Charred human bones, fragments of skeletons afterwards found in many a pot, revealed the state to which the most desperate had fallen. One instance has been authenticated of a man and a woman eating the flesh of their own child. But there is no need of prolonging unduly the tale of misery. Let a few figures tell all that is yet necessary to complete the record. Between the first and last days of 1857 Sandile's clan decreased in number by death and flight from thirty-one thousand to three thousand seven hundred souls; the clans under Makoma, Pato, and Stokwe were reduced to under a thousand people in all; Umhala had six thousand five hundred remaining out of nearly twenty-three thousand; even Kama lost three thousand six hundred out of thirteen thousand souls.

The official census returns of British Kaffraria show a decrease in the Bantu population between the 1st of January

and the 31st of July of that fatal year from one hundred and four thousand seven hundred and twenty-one to thirty-seven thousand two hundred and twenty-nine of both sexes and all ages. And this was in the territory adjoining the colony, with King-Williamstown in its centre, where food was supplied by the magistrate, Captain Richard Taylor, to no fewer than twenty-eight thousand eight hundred and ninety-two individuals, who were sent into the colony after they had gained sufficient strength to travel and allotted to farmers who applied for them and engaged to employ them as rough servants. Several hundred men were also retained for public work in British Kaffraria, as before the delusion. What then must have been the loss of life in the Galeka and Tembu countries; with no such storehouse, and from which flight, except to rival and unfriendly tribes, was almost impossible. The lowest computation fixes the number of those who perished on both sides of the Kei at twenty-five thousand, ordinary calculations give double that number.

Among those that died of hunger was Umhlakaza himself. Nongqause managed to preserve her life by going across the Bashee, and in March 1858 was handed over to Major Gawler by the Bomvana chief Moni. She was sent into the colony, where she afterwards lived, but, beyond making a brief statement to Colonel Maclean, could never be induced to speak a word concerning the deeds in which she played so prominent a part. When discussing these matters in after years, most of the Kaffirs admitted that they were infatuated; they said they were never thoroughly conquered by the English, for they only made peace in 1835, 1847, and 1853 to gain breathing time, but that by destroying their substance they ruined themselves.

Some of the boldest formed themselves into robber bands, and fell upon their countrymen who had not killed their cattle and destroyed their corn. They accused these of being the cause of the disaster, as by not carrying out Umhlakaza's orders they had prevented the spirits from coming to the aid of all, a belief which a good many

Kaffirs held as long as they lived. For several months therefore the border was kept in a disturbed state, until the government was able to destroy or disperse the robber bands.

The expense of providing food for so many famishing people and of forwarding to distant localities those who were arrested when trying to steal—in 1857 alone one thousand four hundred and thirteen were sent by sea to Capetown—could not be estimated beforehand, and consequently no application for the necessary funds had been made to the secretary of state. Then in 1858 the imperial grant for British Kaffraria was cut down without previous notice from £40,000 to £20,000, and there were no resources in the province from which the deficiency could be made good. Sir George Grey was compelled to draw bills upon England, which naturally the treasury, not being prepared for such expenditure, found it inconvenient to meet, and the result was that his conduct in this respect was one of the causes of his being recalled by Sir E. B. Lytton.

CHAPTER XLII.

BRITISH KAFFRARIA FROM 1857 TO 1860.

FROM the blow inflicted upon itself, the Xosa tribe required many years to recover. For a long time the greater number of its young men and women remained in service among the farmers in the colony, where they lost that antipathy to Europeans which was so strongly felt before. They gained also a knowledge of some of the ways of civilised life, and acquired to a considerable extent those habits of industry without which no people in the world have ever made any real progress. It cannot be regarded by unprejudiced persons as a disparagement of missionary labour to add that this experience was of at least as much service to the Xosas in the condition in which they then were as the education from books imparted in the station schools. Such training in industry and instruction in the doctrines of Christianity supplemented each other, and both were needed to elevate the Kaffirs.

The power of the Xosa chiefs and of their Tembu allies was completely broken by their own mad action. Nearly all of them have passed away since the date of the occurrences that have been related, and even their names bid fair to be soon forgotten. But to show the effects of the dispersion in 1857, a brief account of their subsequent careers is necessary.

Kreli, the head of the Xosa tribe, had acted the leading part in the tragedy, and his people had suffered more than any others. When the delusion was over, he found himself with very few followers, so many had perished, so many

more had fled away. The high commissioner had intimated to him that if he persisted in instigating the Rarabe clans to their destruction he would be punished, but he had declined to take warning. And even in the time of his greatest distress he did not cease inciting others to mischief, so Sir George Grey resolved to put it out of his power to do more harm. A strong detachment of the frontier armed and mounted police, under Commandant Currie, was sent over the Kei to expel him from the territory that had been the principal abode of his tribe for many generations. He was unable to resist, and during the night of the 25th of February 1858 with all his remaining people he crossed the Bashee into Bomvanaland, where the chief Moni gave him a small tract of land to live upon. The police kept possession of the district between the Kei and the Bashee until 1865, when he was permitted to return and occupy a portion of it along the coast. In 1877-8 he was again at war with the colony, and was driven once more into Bomvanaland, where on the 2nd of February 1893 he died. Barbarian as he was, Kreli possessed many good qualities. He was brave in the field, of a generous disposition, and was not devoid even of chivalrous feelings. Tall, erect, splendidly formed, there was no handsomer man in appearance in all Kaffirland than he. The author of these volumes is indebted to him for much information upon the past history of his tribe, for he was deeply versed in traditionary lore, and was ever ready to impart his knowledge to others who took an interest in such matters. His son Sigcawu succeeded him in the chieftainship, but the dignity of the position was gone for ever.

Sandile, the principal chief of the Gaikas, who ranked next to Kreli in the tribe, had not slaughtered the whole of his cattle when the dispersion took place, though he was greatly impoverished and had lost most of his people. He was allowed to retain part of the location assigned to him by Sir George Cathcart, but his power was much diminished, as his magistrate from being a mere assessor was now made supreme in judicial matters. He continued to draw a

monthly allowance from government as before. Not only was his intellect feeble, but he was physically weak, and one of his legs was withered. Though he had ten wives, he had only seven sons and the same number of daughters. No fewer than four of his wives in the right-hand house, Nofasi, Nojaji, Noselem, and Benzela, were childless, a very unusual circumstance in Kaffir families. His great wife, Nopasi, had two daughters, but no son. To provide an heir she therefore adopted Gonya, the eldest son of Nokwazi, the wife next in rank in the great house. But the clan would not acknowledge Gonya as qualified to succeed to his father's dignity, because he was never circumcised, having been educated at the Zonnebloem institution in the Christian faith. He was baptized by the name of Edmund, and was long engaged as interpreter and clerk in a magistrate's office. Nokwazi had another son, named Umlindazwe by the Kaffirs, Bisset Sandile by Europeans. The third wife in the great house, Nojeyini, had three sons, Sigidi, Yapi, and George, and one daughter. The fifth wife, in the right-hand house, had one son, William, and one daughter. The seventh wife, Nojenti, had one son, Umyango, and the eighth wife, Yoyi,—both of these in the right-hand house, —had three daughters. Sandile, whose clan grew rapidly under British rule, joined Kreli in the war of 1877-8, and was killed in an engagement with the colonial forces. His location was then confiscated, and was divided into farms and sold to Europeans, after his people were removed beyond the Kei. His principal councillor, a grand old man named Tyala, who had done his utmost without avail to prevent the cattle killing and the almost equally insane war twenty years later, died of grief at the death of his chief and the final breaking up of the clan.

Makoma, the most intelligent of all the Rarabe chiefs, brave in the field and exceedingly capable as a guerilla leader, though addicted to drunkenness, wandered into the colony, and was arrested on the 27th of August 1857 for being there without a pass. For this he was sentenced to

imprisonment for a year, but he was afterwards convicted of having been accessory to the murder of a petty chief who refused to destroy his cattle at the bidding of Umhlakaza, and was sentenced to transportation for twenty-one years. He was removed to Robben Island, and was there treated more as a prisoner of state than as a convict, being allowed the company of his favourite wife and as many other indulgences as could be granted under the circumstances. In 1870, under a promise of good behaviour, he was released and permitted to return to the country of his birth; but as he began immediately to foment disturbances, he was once more removed to Robben Island, where he died at an advanced age on the 9th of September 1873. Throughout his life he was always an attentive listener to the exhortations of missionaries, but never embraced Christianity. His son Tini some years later purchased a farm in the Waterkloof, which he had assisted to hold so tenaciously in 1851 and 1852, and gathered the remnant of the clan together there. With increasing strength he became increasingly hostile to the government, and in the war of 1877-8 threw in his lot with Kreli and Sandile. With his capture and banishment to Capetown as a convict, the history of the clan came to an end. Its members were dispersed, and as a corporate body it ceased to exist.

Anta sank into almost utter insignificance. He was allowed to remain in the Gaika location, and by 1877 his clan gathered some little strength again. Then it joined Sandile, with the result that it lost its ground and was removed beyond the Kei.

Oba suffered less than any other Gaika chief from Umhlakaza's delusion. He had exhibited such courage in the preceding war that his people had given him a new name, Ngonyama—the lion,—by which he was afterwards generally known. Good natured, witty, and generous, if he had only abstained from strong drink he would have been an ideal Xosa chief. The author of these volumes had charge of him and his clan during the last war, and found him sensible,

strong in attachment, and faithful to his promises. He remained in the Gaika location until 1874, when he purchased two large farms on the western bank of the Keiskama, and moved to them with a considerable following. Then came long drought and cattle sickness, and the clan became so poor that the last instalments of the purchase price of the ground could not be met. When the war of 1877-8 was over, the mortgagees pressed their claims and got possession of the farms, but the government recognised his good conduct in placing himself and his people entirely at the disposal of the writer of this narrative, and gave him the use of another tract of land in Victoria East, where he still lives with his principal men. The remainder of his clan were provided for in the district of Kentani. He has always drawn the allowance of £7 a month which Sir George Grey gave him, but unfortunately it has been spent in purchasing brandy. Though believing in—or rather not disputing the existence of—one great God, Oba has never shown any disposition to embrace Christianity.

The Imidange chief Botumane was closely allied with Makoma, and the ground assigned to him by Sir George Cathcart was within the Gaika location. He acted exactly as Makoma did, and consequently lost his people and ground and sank out of sight as a man of note.

The sons of the Ndlambe chief Umkayi took no part in the slaughter of the cattle, but many of their people were led away. The clan became very insignificant in consequence, but it retained its ground.

The Ndlambe chief Umhala's career after the delusion was over was one of crime and misery. No one had been more active than he in carrying out Umhlakaza's instructions. He had even threatened with death members of his own family who were not disposed to waste their substance, and would have carried his threat into execution if they had not fled. He now with a few adherents attempted to live by robbery, moving from one locality to another so frequently and stealthily as for some time to elude his pursuers. But

at length he was captured by a native policeman, was tried, and sentenced to imprisonment on Robben Island, where he arrived on the 28th of October 1858, and where he was detained five years. The man who tracked the son of Ndlambe to his lair and there arrested him was no other than Umjuza, the son of Makana. How difficult it is to comprehend the thoughts, or to account for the actions of these untutored beings, may be realised from the fact that at this very time Umjuza was carefully preserving the personal property of his father, in the firm belief that he would soon appear to lead his race to victory. And yet he hunted down and arrested the man whom it might be supposed, under such circumstances, he would be most anxious to serve. But Umkayi had been his chief, and therein lay the secret. In 1864 Umhala returned to Kaffraria, but his power was gone for ever. Thereafter his name was seldom heard, and when he died on the 10th of April 1875 it was not as if a man of note had passed out of the world. The people seemed almost to have forgotten him. The large tract of land that had been assigned to him by Sir George Cathcart was confiscated by Sir George Grey. Some of the people left upon it were removed beyond the Kei, and in August 1858 were located by Major Gawler on the right bank of the Bashee, in what is now the district of Idutywa. They were one thousand seven hundred and fifty in number, young and old, and were distributed among eight kraals, under the captains Smith, Sigidi, Stokwe, and Zabela. They and the Fingos at Butterworth were the only Bantu allowed to reside in the territory between the Kei and the Bashee before 1865.

The chief Toyise, son of Gasela, lost a few of his people, but kept his location intact. This was the case also with the petty chief Tshatshu, of the Amantinde clan.

The Amambala chief Stokwe lost practically the whole of his followers by death and dispersion, and ceased to be of any note whatever.

The Gunukwebe chief Pato also was utterly ruined. Those of his people who did not perish either joined his

half-brother Kama or dispersed in the colony. For an offence which he committed he was banished to Robben Island for a time, where he arrived on the 13th of March 1858, and after his return found himself forgotten. His allowance from government supported him till he passed away almost unnoticed.

The Imidushane chief Siyolo upon his surrender to Colonel Maclean in October 1852 was tried by court martial for his conduct during the war, and was sentenced to death. Sir George Cathcart commuted this sentence to banishment to the Cape peninsula for life, and he was sent to Wynberg, where he remained several years a state prisoner. Most of his followers perished in the famine, and those who survived placed themselves under his half-brother Siwani. Sir George Grey allowed Siyolo to return to Kaffraria, where he found himself without importance.

The Imidushane chief Siwani set his face steadily against the cattle killing mania, and with such success that he not only saved his people, but was able to increase their number by the incorporation of nearly a thousand fugitives. His people are still living on the location assigned to him by Sir George Cathcart.

The Christian Gunukwebe chief Kama, who did all that he could to oppose the cattle killing, saw his clan grow from the smallest to the largest in British Kaffraria, with his people prospering about him on their location, till in 1875 he died. His son William Shaw Kama, who had been educated for but had not entered the Christian ministry, owing to the representations of his friends that he could be of greater service as a layman, then became chief. The clan is still largely heathen, and from the very fact of their having resisted their chief's wishes so long, many families among them are now more hardened against the doctrines of Christianity than almost any others in the country.

Of the Tembu tribe the most important chiefs who destroyed their property at the word of Umhlakaza were

Vadana and Kwesha. When the famine set in, Vadana, who had still nine hundred mounted men at his back, became a robber, and fell upon anyone and everyone who had cattle and corn. As he menaced the colonial frontier, in August 1857 a party of Queenstown farmers joined a strong body of the frontier armed and mounted police under Commandant Currie, and succeeded in tracing and coming up with his band. An action followed, in which about fifty of the robbers were killed, and the old chief Kwesha and some others were made prisoners. Vadana fled eastward, but was closely followed by a party of police under Inspector Charles Duncan Griffith, who surprised him at dawn in the morning of the 19th of September on the bank of the Bashee, and made him a prisoner. He and Kwesha were then sent to Capetown, where they arrived on the 17th of December 1857, with the Gaika chief Makoma as their companion in exile. With the breaking up of this formidable band all danger of armed opposition was over, and though there was a considerable amount of thieving by individuals thereafter, the police were able without difficulty to maintain such order as had never been known before.

The Fingos, from whom trouble had been anticipated, took no part whatever in the destruction of cattle and corn, nor have they at any time since acted in opposition to the English government. As a consequence, they have prospered greatly, and have had very large areas of land allotted to them, which they now hold.

The mad act of the Xosas and Tembus in 1856 and 1857 gave the country rest from war for over twenty years. It affected the politics of the country greatly, for thereafter the chief argument of those who desired the separation of the two provinces or the removal of the seat of government to the east ceased to have force. It enabled Sir George Grey to give complete protection to the long harassed farmers of Albany by filling with Europeans the vacant land that Sir George Cathcart had assigned to Makoma, Botumane, Umhala,

and Pato, whose locations were now confiscated, while these Europeans themselves were protected by the police who held the unoccupied territory from the Kei to the Bashee. And lastly it was the means of bringing large numbers of Kaffirs into contact with civilisation on colonial farms, where they were trained in the best possible manner to become useful to themselves and to the country generally.

To increase the European population of British Kaffraria was in the high commissioner's opinion a matter of the first importance. While the white people were few in number they were not safe, even if a large military force was maintained in the country; but if they could be sufficiently strengthened they would live in security, and much expense be saved to the imperial treasury. The experiment of bringing out part of the German legion had greatly disappointed the Cape colonists, who had contributed largely towards the cost of its introduction. The parliament had voted money for that purpose on the express understanding that the greater number of the men would be married and would be accompanied by their wives, whereas the proportion of women that came out was so small that the soldiers could not be expected to become permanent settlers, and in all probability as soon as they were released from military discipline would become vagrants and be a menace to the scattered rural population. Partly to prevent their immediate dispersion, and partly to strengthen the posts in the province at the time of danger of disturbances by the Kaffirs, the high commissioner kept the men enrolled and on full pay, which made them subject to the laws of war. In this condition, though they were allowed to build cottages and till the ground in their villages, they remained until the 31st of March 1858, when by peremptory instructions from England the pay was stopped.

To procure female immigrants two plans were devised. On the 14th of March 1857 a sale of thirty-five building allotments in King-Williamstown took place, when the sum of £1.831 was realised. This money was paid into the

commissariat chest, and the high commissioner wrote to the secretary of state requesting that it might be applied to the introduction of young women. He stated that another sale would shortly take place, which he anticipated would bring the amount to over £3,000, a sufficient sum to defray the cost of sending out one transport. The secretary of state complied with his request, and consented to the proceeds of future land sales being devoted to the same purpose.

The emigration commissioners thereupon chartered a ship of 584 tons burden named the *Lady Kennaway,* and sent her direct from the Thames to East London with a number of respectable young women, chiefly Irish, accompanied by a few families. They landed in Kaffraria on the 23rd of November 1857, and excepting seventy who preferred to go to the Cape Colony, very shortly found husbands, some of English birth, others men of the legion. Two days after their landing, the *Lady Kennaway* parted her cables in a strong breeze that suddenly sprang up, and was driven on the bar at the mouth of the Buffalo, where she became a wreck.

The other plan favoured by the high commissioner was to get out a large number of German agricultural families, from whom the men of the legion might obtain wives. There was some correspondence on this subject between different ministerial departments in London and Sir George Grey, in which the secretary of state for war expressed a favourable opinion of the scheme, but Mr. Labouchere was opposed to it. On the 5th of June 1857 he wrote declining to accede to the proposal, on the ground of the large expense and the difficulty of carrying it out.

The high commissioner, however, on the 24th of August of the same year entered into an agreement with Mr. William Berg, of Capetown, as agent for the firm of Johan Cæsar Godeffroy & Son, of Hamburg, for the introduction of four thousand German settlers. For this purpose the Kaffrarian government was to issue debentures to the amount of £50,000, to bear interest at the rate of six per cent per annum for

ten years, when they were to be redeemed. Messrs. Godeffroy & Son were to select suitable families and send them to East London at a charge of £12 10s. for a statute adult. From East London the government was to convey them to the ground on which they were to settle free of charge. The emigrants were to be agriculturists of respectable character, in good health, and free from mental or bodily defects. Each head of a family was to receive a building allotment in a village, free of charge, twenty acres of good ground at £1 per acre, five acres for each child above fourteen years of age, and three acres for each child between ten and fourteen, at the same price. He was to repay one-fifth of the passage money of himself and his family after four years, one-fifth after five years, one-fifth after six years, one-fifth after seven years, and the remaining fifth after eight years from the date of his arrival at East London, with the exception that only half was to be repaid for unmarried females between the ages of twelve and twenty-five years. The ground was to be paid for in the same way. No interest was to be charged on these debts, and the cost of surveying the allotments and issuing the title deeds, which would be given when the last instalment was paid, was to be borne by the government.

Under these conditions Messrs. Godeffroy & Son sent from Hamburg five ships with emigrants in 1858. They were directed to call at Table Bay on the passage for orders, where the first, the *Cæsar Godeffroy*, arrived on the 14th of June, with four hundred and fifty-six immigrants on board; the second, *La Rochelle*, on the 11th of August, with four hundred and eighty-five; the third, the *Wandrahan*, on the 17th of November, with four hundred and twenty-one; the fourth, the *Wilhelmsburg*, on the 23rd of December, with six hundred and eighty; and the fifth, the *Johan Cæsar*, on the 7th of January 1859, with two hundred and seventy-three immigrants of both sexes and all ages under fifty. Only those who arrived in the first two ships were located before the close of 1858, and of the others some

had ground allotted to them on the western side of the Keiskama, so that all did not become inhabitants of British Kaffraria.

Meantime intelligence was received from the governor of Bombay that more troops were urgently needed there, so the high commissioner, acting under general instructions he had received to give all the assistance that was possible to India, called a thousand of the unmarried and most restless men of the legion back to their colours, and in September 1858 sent them to Lord Elphinstone's aid. It had become evident that these men would never make good settlers. They were already beginning to disperse, and were therefore of little service as a protective guard to Kaffraria. A weeding out, similar to that which took place in the early days of the Cape Colony, was thus put in operation with them. The steady and industrious among them—and there were many such, though they excelled rather as mechanics and in commercial pursuits than in agriculture—remained in South Africa, where they were of much service, while the idle and the dissipated returned to the occupation in which they could be useful without being dangerous to society. It was an enormous responsibility, however, that Sir George Grey thus took upon himself, in levying troops for service out of South Africa, without direct authority from the imperial government and without provision having been made by the war office for their maintenance.

The census taken by the officials on the 31st of December 1858 showed the population of British Kaffraria to consist of one thousand one hundred and fifty-four men, women, and children connected with the German legion, two thousand nine hundred and ninety-four other Europeans, and thirty-eight thousand five hundred and fifty-nine Kaffirs and Fingos.

The imports into the province through East London, which was then a dependency of the Cape Colony, amounted in 1855 to £79,930, in 1856 to £174,765, in 1857 to £258,014, and in 1858 to £144,925. A very small

proportion of the imports came direct from England, the great bulk of the trade being coastwise. The exports through East London from the province amounted in 1855 to £30,985, in 1856 to £52,214, in 1857 to £79,558, and in 1858 to £18,900. The cause of the great falling off in the last year was the cessation of the supply of hides after the destruction of their cattle by the Kaffirs.

No settlers in any new country could have been better adapted to meet its needs than those sent from Northern Germany by Messrs. Godeffroy & Son. Frugal, temperate, orderly, and industrious in the very highest degree, they set themselves to work with the utmost diligence on their little holdings. After a few months they consumed nothing that they did not produce. Chicory from their land served them for coffee, honey from their hives took the place of sugar, pork and maize and vegetables were the principal articles of their diet. The ground had to be turned over with the spade, for they were too poor to purchase cattle and ploughs. The women carried heavy loads of vegetables to the nearest military post or to King-Williamstown or East London, and though the returns were small, they were saved. Then came a time when a horse could be bought, and a little homemade waggon, with wheels sawn from the trunk of a tree, was seen on the road. Presently a cow was visible on the German's homestead, and it was always sleek and well fed. So it went on with him, every year finding him with a little more stock than the one before. Surely no people in the world more than these men and women deserved to become prosperous and happy. The neat stone houses in which their children live to-day, the highly cultivated fields around them, the herds of cattle that graze on the pastures, bear witness to their thriving condition and to the fact that Kaffraria is a land in which industry and perseverance meet with a suitable reward.

This system of immigration was not continued after 1858. On the 4th of May of that year Lord Stanley, who on the 26th of February had succeeded Mr. Labouchere as secretary

of state for the colonies, announced to Sir George Grey that it was to cease. He wrote:—

"The course of following up the introduction of the German legion, by sending to the same district a large additional number of German emigrants, unfamiliar with English habits or English speech, appears to me one of, at least, questionable policy. Nor does it seem clearly suited to fulfil its intended purpose; for the scarcity of wives for the German legion is hardly to be cured by sending out a number of married couples from Germany, accompanied by children so young as most of them must be if the majority of the parents be of an age to contend with the difficulties of a new settlement. And inasmuch as there is, in the finances of British Kaffraria, an annual deficiency of £40,000, which has only been supplied hitherto by a yearly grant from parliament, the bonds to be nominally secured on the revenue of that territory must, in fact, depend, for principal and interest, on the continuance of parliamentary aid from Great Britain. Here it is necessary also to remark that the sum of £50,000, to be paid for passages, would be far from completing the expenditure. Transport is promised to the emigrants, for themselves, their families, and their baggage, from the place of landing to the place of settlement; and also numerous small lots of land, both rural and in villages, which must entail expensive surveying. Nor is it likely that, in practice, the assistance to be granted to inexperienced persons brought out into an entirely new country could be limited to the objects for which it was thus expressly promised beforehand.

"Looking at all these considerations, and especially seeing that the pecuniary consequences of the measure directly concern this country, Her Majesty's government have felt bound to adhere to the policy which had already been communicated to you by my predecessor. I have apprised the Messrs. Godeffroy, of Hamburg, of the nature of the resources of British Kaffraria, and have instructed them that the emigration must be discontinued. I am anxious to

effect this in the manner most considerate towards the Messrs. Godeffroy, and best calculated to avoid hardship to individuals; but the measure itself is indispensable. Of the details of the steps taken for that purpose, you shall be informed when they are further advanced; but if some inconvenience should unavoidably occur, I must observe that it will have been owing to the unfortunate course taken by yourself, of ordering an extensive series of operations to be commenced in Europe without the knowledge or the authority, and against the previously expressed decision of the queen's government."

Emigrants equal in number to sixteen hundred statute adults—the two thousand three hundred and fifteen individuals who actually reached South Africa—had previously been engaged, and one of the transports was then on the way out. Lord Stanley therefore consented to allow these to be forwarded, and paid Messrs. Godeffroy & Son, who had incurred considerable expense in establishing agencies and in other ways, £5,000 to cancel the contract for the remaining two thousand four hundred.

In 1858 the high commissioner caused three hundred and two farms of an average size of fifteen hundred acres each to be laid out in the confiscated locations in the province, and offered them to selected heads of families in other parts of South Africa, to be held under military tenure and the yearly payment of a quitrent of £2 for every thousand acres. These farms were only one fourth the size of those in the long settled districts of the Cape Colony, but as they were generally well watered and clothed with rich grass, they were equally valuable. Studded with mimosa trees, the country in which they were situated presented the appearance of a beautiful park, except when occasional droughts occurred, or grass fires turned the hill sides from brown to black. Early in 1859 the grantees—young Dutch and English farmers acquainted with the conditions of South African life—moved in and occupied the land.

At the opening of the session of the Cape parliament in 1859 Sir George Grey referred to British Kaffraria, with a

view of relieving Great Britain of the burden of contributing towards the maintenance of its government. He said:

"Whatever decision you may come to upon the subject of federation generally, I request that you will take an early opportunity of letting me know your desire with regard to the incorporation of the territory of British Kaffraria with the colony of the Cape of Good Hope. It is impossible that the state of things now existing in British Kaffraria can be permitted much longer to continue. That territory is constantly increasing in wealth and importance, and the number of its European population augments with these; yet it is left without courts suited to its wants, and without any form of government which possesses even the show of freedom, whilst the greater part of the customs duties on its imports are received by the colony of the Cape of Good Hope. Should British Kaffraria not be incorporated with the Cape of Good Hope, the port of East London will, under the letters patent constituting British Kaffraria a separate territory, fall within that dependency of the crown. From this circumstance, serious inconvenience might result to this colony, as, if East London were constituted a free port, or if a low rate of customs duties were received there, the revenues of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope would suffer greatly, as it appears impossible to establish customhouse points along a boundary line which cannot be computed for that purpose at less than one hundred and ninety miles in length."

The parliament was not then desirous of the annexation of the territory to the colony, but was willing to give up the port of East London and lose the customs duties collected there, which were then a mere trifle. Accordingly, on the 9th of July 1859 the governor issued a proclamation restoring East London to British Kaffraria. This was confirmed by an order in council on the 29th of November, followed by letters patent on the 19th of December, which were promulgated by proclamation on the 7th of April 1860. Thus the anomaly of a harbour in the centre of the coast-

line of one British dependency being regarded as belonging to another dependency was removed.

The customs duties were fixed by the high commissioner in another proclamation of the 9th of July 1859. Goods coming from abroad were to pay the same duties as in the Cape Colony. The produce of the Cape Colony of every description was to be admitted duty free. Goods from abroad could be landed in the ports of the Cape Colony, placed in bonding warehouses there, and then shipped coastwise to East London, where the duty was to be paid; but if the original packages were broken the duty was to be paid in both places. This could not be avoided, but it acted prejudicially to the port, because nearly all the trading establishments in the territory were dependent on firms in Port Elizabeth, and a large proportion of the merchandise needed was in quantities that necessitated the packages as they came from England being broken before distribution. Such goods were therefore almost invariably sent overland on transport waggons from Port Elizabeth, to save payment of the double duty, there being no customhouses on the main roads.

In this year many of the Xosas who had dispersed in 1857 returned to Kaffraria and took up their abode in one or other of the native locations that remained. A census taken on the 31st of December 1859 showed the population to consist of

	Men	Women	Children	Tota
Europeans on 302 farms				1,289
German immigrants ...	306	317	871	1,494
German legion	677	271	217	1,165
Other Europeans	714	448	785	1,947
Total white population				5,895
Kaffirs and Fingos ...	12,626	13,399	27,038	53,063

There were then eleven mission stations in British Kaffraria. Two of these, Burnshill and Pirie, were maintained by the free church of Scotland; three, the reverend Mr. Brownlee's in King-Williamstown, Knappshope, and Peelton, by the London missionary society; two, Annshaw and Mount Coke, by the

Wesleyan society; three,—Bethel, at Stutterheim, founded with Gasela's people by the reverend Mr. Dohne in February 1837, Wartburg, in Sandile's location, founded by the reverend Mr. Rein in 1855, and Petersberg, a few miles west of King-Williamstown, founded with Toyise's people by the reverend Mr. Liefeldt in 1856,—by the Berlin missionary society; and one, Newlands, by the episcopal church of England. Nearly all of them had branch stations or outposts, at which services were held periodically, and at most of these there were schools with native teachers. The missionaries had now far greater facilities for carrying on their work than in former times, because they were not subject to the caprices of the chiefs, and the law of the land was with them. Christianity and civilisation therefore from this time forward made more rapid advances among the native people than was possible before.

The Bantu population of the territory between the Kei and the Bashee consisted on the 31st of December 1859 of nine hundred and nine men, one thousand two hundred and six women, and three thousand one hundred and thirty-nine children.

On the 7th of March 1860 letters patent were issued at Westminster defining the boundaries of the province and settling the form of its government. In them British Kaffraria was declared to comprise the territory within the western bank of the Keiskama from the sea upward to the junction of the Tyumie, the western bank of the Tyumie upward to its northernmost source, the Katberg, Amatola, and Kabusi range to the great northern road leading from East London to Queenstown, that road to the ridge which descends into the valley of the Dagana river at the northeastern angle of the Windvogelberg, the ridge running in a north-easterly direction from that point to the Zwart Kei, and the centre of the Kei to its mouth. The remaining portion of the province as it had previously been was annexed to the Cape Colony.

The province was to remain a distinct and separate government, which was to be administered, however, by the

governor and commander-in-chief of the Cape Colony. To him alone authority was given to enact such laws as he might consider necessary, but in his absence a lieutenant-governor or a governor's deputy was to carry on the administration.

On the 26th of October 1860 a proclamation was issued by Sir George Grey, in which these letters patent were promulgated and declared to be in force from that day. At the same time Lieutenant-Colonel John Maclean, previously chief commissioner, was appointed lieutenant-governor.

The province was divided into two districts, named King-Williamstown and East London. The magistrates, Captain Richard Taylor in the former, and Mr. Matthew Jennings in the latter, continued to exercise their duties, Mr. Jennings being also collector of customs. With each native clan of importance there was a European official acting as a magistrate, and in civil cases deciding according to Bantu law, but the chiefs were endeavouring secretly to recover as much authority as was possible. A supreme court was not established until November 1861, when Mr. Justice Fitzpatrick arrived from England and assumed duty as sole judge. Trial by jury was established in criminal cases that came before this court. Mr. Simeon Jacobs was appointed attorney-general, Captain—afterwards Sir—Charles Mills sheriff, and Mr. Richard Giddy master. Further, a registry of deeds was created, and a surveyor-general was appointed. This was all the machinery of administration in the province as long as it remained a separate dependency of the crown, but it was ample for the requirements of the inhabitants, and it did not press heavily upon their resources. Such enactments of the Cape parliament as he considered would be beneficial were proclaimed by the governor as law, so that uniformity was preserved.

The postal service was carried on by the military authorities; the mails—open, however, to all—being conveyed from place to place by soldiers of the Cape corps. The surf boats in which goods were conveyed to and from ships lying in the

roadstead off East London were owned by the imperial government, and were maintained primarily for military purposes, though their use was permitted to persons engaged in commerce. A lighthouse had been constructed on the western point at the mouth of the Buffalo, from which a steady white light was first exhibited on the 25th of August 1860. The great northern road was connected with the village of East London by a pontoon capable of conveying heavily laden waggons and their teams across. On the eastern bank, where now a large and important town stands, there were then only half a dozen small buildings, though the place was dignified with the name of the village of Panmure.

The road from Panmure ran at no great distance from the Buffalo, passed the German settlement of Cambridge with its well cultivated fields, the military post of Fort Jackson some distance farther on, Potsdam—another neat and thriving German settlement—a little on the left, Berlin, where the population was small, and Breidbach, with charming gardens in its vicinity, before it reached King-Williamstown, the seat of the administration, then a straggling place not yet under municipal government. This was the head quarters of the troops in the province, and here were the commissariat stores and workshops where the waggons used in the mule trains were made and repaired. Its finest building was the large Grey hospital, and the next most imposing structure was the English episcopal church. There were also Roman catholic and Wesleyan churches, and the presbyterians and Lutherans were building places of worship. On the outskirts of the town was the London society's mission station, where the venerable Mr. Brownlee still carried on his work. The places of business were chiefly offshoots of establishments at Port Elizabeth, but already it was beginning to be evident that King-Williamstown would become the emporium of the trade of the Transkeian territories as far as the Umzimvubu. A newspaper—the *King-Williamstown Gazette*—was published here, but as yet there was no public library or other place of entertainment than an amateur theatre.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE DISTRICT OF NATAL. 1845 TO 1857.

MARTIN THOMAS WEST, ESQRE., LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, ASSUMED DUTY 4TH OF DECEMBER 1845, DIED 1ST OF AUGUST 1849.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL EDMOND FRENCH BOYS, ACTING LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, FROM 2ND OF AUGUST 1849 TO 19TH OF APRIL 1850.

BENJAMIN CHILLEY CAMPBELL PINE, ESQRE.,* LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, ASSUMED DUTY 19TH OF APRIL 1850, LEFT NATAL ON LEAVE OF ABSENCE 3RD OF MARCH 1855,† AND DID NOT RETURN.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL HENRY COOPER, ACTING LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR. FROM 3RD OF MARCH 1855 TO 5TH OF NOVEMBER 1856.

JOHN SCOTT, ESQRE., LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR, ASSUMED DUTY 5TH OF NOVEMBER 1856.

THE growth of Natal in importance as a British possession was exceedingly slow. In 1845 it was without roads along which goods could be conveyed over the mountains to the communities inland, so that its trade was limited to the people within its own borders and those of Zululand. It was not known to possess any mineral wealth, such as would entice a large influx of immigrants. For agricultural and pastoral pursuits it was recognised as being well adapted,

* Previously acting governor of Sierra Leone.

†On the 12th of October 1852 Mr. Pine left Natal on a visit to the Cape Colony, and did not return until the 22nd of March 1853. During his absence Lieutenant-Colonel Boys acted until the 31st of January 1853, when he was obliged to retire through illness. Major W. R. Preston, of the 45th regiment, was sworn in on the 1st of February, and acted until Mr. Pine's return.

but these could not be carried on with safety while great hordes of Bantu were wandering about wherever they chose.

The first and most important question awaiting solution was the settlement of these Bantu. They consisted of three classes:

1. Inhabitants of the territory before the wars of Tshaka, who had never been driven out, and who were believed to be then between five and eleven thousand in number. These were admitted by every one to have a claim, superior to that of either the Europeans or the other Bantu, to ample ground for their maintenance.

2. Those who had been driven out by Tshaka, and who had returned after the arrival of the Europeans. Concerning these there was a difference of opinion. Some persons maintained that they had lost their rights, others held that their ownership of the ground occupied by their fathers remained valid, and should be respected.

3. Refugees from tribes that had never occupied any part of Natal, who had come into it since 1838 to be under the white man's protection. These were believed to compose fully half of the whole number then in the territory, and all persons were agreed that they had no claim to anything beyond what the government might choose to give them.

Practically, however, these distinctions could not be observed, because the government was without power to do anything opposed to the inclinations of the blacks. The country had become a British possession through force of circumstances, not from any desire on the part of the imperial authorities to establish her Majesty's authority there, and beyond maintaining a small body of troops as a garrison, they would not consent to incur any expense whatever. Earl Grey, who was then secretary of state for the colonies, would, indeed, have favoured the withdrawal of the British flag altogether, if it were not certain that the extermination of the blacks in the territory would have followed immediately. Though the administration was as simple and inexpensive as possible, the lieutenant-governor

receiving only £800 a year and £100 for houserent, the recorder £600, the secretary to government £500, and the other officials in proportion, the local revenue was insufficient to meet the expenditure, and the deficiency was made up by loans from the Cape treasury, to be repaid in after years. Thus there was no possibility of employing any other police than a hundred of those blacks who had long been subject to English chiefs, and the few Europeans in the country could not provide a force strong enough to compel obedience by the Bantu generally.

Under these circumstances, in 1846 a land commission, consisting of Mr. Theophilus Shepstone, Dr. William Stanger, Lieutenant C. J. Gibb, of the royal engineers, the reverend Daniel Lindley, minister of the Dutch reformed church at Maritzburg,* and Dr. Newton Adams, of the American mission, was appointed for the purpose of selecting tracts of land on which the Bantu, irrespective of the classification above mentioned, should be located. This commission, after a rough inspection of the country north of the Umkomanzi river, recommended seven locations for the exclusive use of the blacks: the Umzinyati, Impafana, Umvoti, Inanda, and Zwartkops, with defined boundaries, and the Umlazi and Kathlamba, whose boundaries were left open. These locations comprised in all fully two million acres of land, or one-sixth of the whole area of Natal, and contained a great many farms claimed by white men as having been occupied by them before the arrival of Commissioner Cloete in 1843. But it would have been impossible to select locations elsewhere without including farms, so the government adopted the recommendations of the commission provisionally, and the Bantu were directed to take up their residence on the ground set apart for them. Most of them complied with the order, but some declined to remove from the land they were then occupying outside the locations, and there were no means of compelling them

* Mr. Lindley resigned this post on the 31st of December 1846, and returned to mission work. He was succeeded as clergyman at Maritzburg by the reverend Mr. Stucki.

to obey. South of the Umkomanzi they had practically the whole of the ground fit for use in their possession.

In this direction some small clans that had been dispersed in the wars of Tshaka and that had taken refuge in the broken country along the Umzimvubu were now anxious either to remove to Natal or that British authority should be extended to the land on which they were living. Among them were the Xesibes, then under a chief named Jojo, who complained of being subject to constant attacks by the Pondo chief Faku. These people had for many generations occupied a tract of country south of the Umtamvuna, but during the great convulsions had been driven from it and had taken possession of territory on which Pondo kraals had once stood. This fact and the Maitland treaty were dwelt upon by Faku when attempting to compel them to become his subjects. On their part the Xesibes claimed to be as independent as their ancestors had always been, and maintained that the Pondos had lost their right to the land in the same way that they had lost theirs. No clan whatever, they asserted, was then on the same ground that it had occupied before the Zulu wars. This contention between the two peoples was the cause of constant strife and bloodshed.

In 1847 Jojo sent messengers to Maritzburg to entreat that he might be protected by the Natal government. He had only six hundred fighting men left, he stated, and he feared that they would be annihilated unless he received assistance. But the government had too much upon its hands already to add to the burden, and so the request of the Xesibes could not be entertained. Contrary to all expectation, however, they managed to hold out, though engaged in constant strife, until 1878, when they were taken under British protection, and on the 25th of October 1886 their territory, under the name of the district of Mount Ayliff, was annexed to the Cape Colony.*

* On the 7th of May 1886 the secretary of state announced the queen's consent to steps being taken for the annexation to the Cape Colony of the

Another chief who sent a request similar to that of Jojo was Ukane, the head of a clan termed the Amaxolo, who resided on a portion of the territory between the Umzimkulu and Umtamvuna rivers. Nothing was done to aid him, though he repeatedly sought protection, until 1866, when the southern boundary of Natal was extended to the Umtamvuna, and he became thereby a British subject. But before that time he had been compelled to make his peace with Faku and submit to Pondo supremacy, and he then declared that he would abide by his engagement and must therefore decline to recognise the queen's authority. He was informed that he must either submit or with his people cross the Umtamvuna into Pondo territory. To this message he returned a defiant answer, and he was then sentenced to pay a fine of twenty head of cattle for insolence and disobedience. As he declined to pay it, an expedition was sent against him, when he and some of his principal men concealed themselves, but all his women and children and most of his warriors remained on their ground. They were ordered to remove at once, upon which Ukane sent to ask forgiveness, and offered to obey the directions of the government. Thereupon he was fined two hundred head of cattle, which were delivered at once, after which he was allowed to return to his kraal, and subsequently he gave no trouble. The conduct of this chief, in wishing to adhere to an engagement into which he had entered, though unwillingly, can only be regarded as praiseworthy, and if he had been less insolent in his expressions he would have been required to pay a much smaller fine.

district occupied by the Xesibes, as proposed by the high commissioner; on the 23rd of August the governor was authorised by letters patent to issue a proclamation to that effect; on the 24th of September by an order in council her Majesty assented to an annexation act passed by the Cape parliament; and on the 25th of October the governor proclaimed the completion of the measure. This was merely one of the different acts by which the various sections of the territory from the Kei to the border of Natal, and from the Kathlamba mountains to the sea, were successively annexed to the Cape Colony.

In the locations in Natal the Bantu were of necessity left to themselves. Fortunately for the Europeans, a large proportion of these people were without chiefs, the ruling families of the tribes to which they had once belonged having been utterly exterminated, so they could not enter into hostile combinations. The feuds among those who still preserved the organisation of clans were so bitter, and their dread of Panda was so strong, that there was no danger of their uniting to oppose the European authorities as long as nothing was done to give them a common grievance. It was hoped that the missionaries, to whom all possible encouragement was afforded, would speedily effect an improvement in their habits. At the time there were not many in the district, but shortly the field was occupied by fourteen Americans, three of the Berlin society, and two Wesleyans.

In this condition the blacks remained until 1849, when the European element of the population having become stronger, the government more consolidated, and the preliminary work of opening up the country more advanced, it was considered that some authority could with safety be exercised over them. In instructions issued by the queen in council, dated 8th of March 1848, the lieutenant-governor was directed to make known that in assuming the sovereignty her Majesty had not interfered with or abrogated any law, custom, or usage previously prevailing among the native inhabitants, except so far as the same might be repugnant to the general principles of humanity recognised throughout the whole civilised world, nor had interfered with or abrogated the power which the laws, customs, and usages of those inhabitants vested in the chiefs or in any other persons in authority under them; but that in all transactions between themselves and in all crimes committed by any of them against the persons or property of others of them the said natives were (subject to the conditions already stated) to administer justice towards each other as they had been used to do in former times; provided,

nevertheless, that her Majesty reserved to herself full power and authority, as she from time to time should see occasion, to amend the laws of the said natives and provide for the better administration of justice among them, as might be found practicable. This clause might have been extracted almost verbatim from the records of the Dutch East India Company's administration of the Cape Colony, instead of from an order in council issued by the queen of England in 1848, so entirely did it accord with Dutch ideas as to the best method of dealing with natives.

But the officials in Natal without exception considered these instructions objectionable, as they desired the introduction of a system that would bring the blacks under the same laws as the Europeans at an early date, and could not regard without concern the creation of a number of nearly independent states within the district. The members of the executive council went so far as to advise the suspension of the publication of the order until a statement of their views could be received in England, and Lieutenant-Governor West actually did withhold making it public until the 21st of June 1849, when he felt he could no longer delay carrying out a positive order. And so Kaffir laws and customs, with the authority of the chiefs, were legalised in Natal, and have remained with few changes to the present day.

To modify this policy as much as it was now in their power to do, on the 23rd of June 1849 an ordinance was passed provisionally by the legislative council, providing that there should be an appeal from the decisions of the chiefs to the lieutenant-governor and the executive council, and that officers might be appointed to control, revise, and direct the administration of justice according to native law. This ordinance was confirmed by the queen in council, and was published on the 4th of November 1850. On the same day Messrs. L. E. Mesham, George Ringler Thomson, G. R. Peppercorn, and James Cleghorn were appointed respectively native magistrates of the Inanda, Umzinyati, Impafana, and Umvoti locations, to adjudicate in such cases as the people

might choose to bring before them. They were of course regarded with jealousy by most of the chiefs, but it was hoped that with the large section of the people which was without hereditary leaders they would soon acquire influence, that they would, in short, become in reality chiefs themselves, and govern as such, though living as civilised and educated Europeans. These sanguine expectations, however, were never fully realised. From this time forward the lieutenant-governor in dealings with the blacks was entitled the supreme chief, and the diplomatic agent was termed his mouthpiece.

At the close of 1849 an effort was first made to obtain a contribution towards the revenue from the blacks. A tax of seven shillings a year was levied upon each hut, and to the gratification of the government, Mr. Shepstone, who visited the locations and outlying kraals for the purpose, was able to collect it in money or in cattle without any difficulty. It was paid on twenty-five thousand two hundred and thirty-two huts, and amounted to £8,831 4*s*.

All this time an influx of refugees from beyond the Tugela and the Umzinyati was going on. The government discouraged it as much as possible, and restored to Panda any cattle that the fugitives brought with them and that he sent to claim, but the people themselves were allowed to remain in Natal. Sometimes they arrived singly, but on several occasions entire clans fled into the district to obtain protection from their enemies. The most notable of these was a section of the Hlubi tribe under the chief Langalibalele, which fled from Zululand in 1848 to escape annihilation by Panda.

The Hlubi had once been the largest tribe in South Africa, but the greater part of it had perished in the wars of Tshaka, and the fragments into which the surviving portion was broken up were scattered from the Fish river to the Umvolosi, and beyond the Drakensberg from the head waters of the Caledon to the commonage of Bloemfontein. There were sections of it larger than the one which

entered Natal in 1848, but this was politically the most important, because Langalibalele, its chief, was the direct representative of the highest branch of the ruling family. After long consideration it was decided by the government to give the Hlubis a tract of land by themselves at the sources of the Bushman's river, and on the 1st of December 1849 the boundaries of a location were pointed out to them by Mr. James Michael Howell, acting for Mr. Theophilus Shepstone. This situation was selected for them because some Bushmen, whose haunts were in the mountains behind, were in the habit of making predatory incursions into Natal and robbing the farmers on the uplands of cattle, and it was believed that the Hlubis could check these depredations much more easily than Europeans. This expectation was at first only partly realised, but the robberies by the Bushmen were thereafter less frequent and on a less extensive scale than before, and in course of time the plunderers were almost entirely rooted out.

To the black man Natal was like an earthly paradise. He was protected there from his enemies, his laws and his customs were not interfered with, and he was under no necessity to labour. His cattle roamed over the choicest pastures, where it gave him no anxiety to guard them. The women provided an ample supply of food from their gardens, and were none the less happy for being required to till the ground. When the time to pay the hut tax came round, the sale of an ox or a few bags of maize sufficed to meet the charge upon several families. Now and again a young man might be tempted to take service with a European for a few months, in order to procure something which he desired, but when his object was attained he returned to his ordinary life of indolence. Thus as time went on, little or no change in his condition took place in the way of assimilation to the European mode of living.

The white people in Natal looked upon the great mass of barbarism strongly entrenched in the district as a source of

constant danger, and on several occasions panics took place among them. Thus when intelligence was received of the rebellion in British Kaffraria in December 1850 there was a general flight from lonely farms, and business of all kinds was suspended for several weeks. Among other precautions to ensure safety, the government thought it prudent to disband the Kaffir police, through fear of their rising in rebellion. Various wild schemes were continually being brought forward to remove, or at least to reduce, the danger. The plan that met with most general acceptance was the breaking up of the great locations and the formation of a large number of small ones, between and around which the ground was to be occupied by Europeans only. But such a scheme, even if approved of by the imperial authorities, would have needed a much greater force to put it in execution than the government had at its disposal. The garrison at this time consisted of the 45th regiment, six hundred and seventeen officers and men, thirty-four Cape mounted riflemen, twenty-two artillerymen, and seventeen engineers. In July 1848 the head quarters and one wing of the 73rd regiment were sent up from British Kaffraria to act, if necessary, against the farmers who were then opposing her Majesty's authority on the other side of the Drakensberg, but this addition to the garrison was not intended to be permanent.

The condition of things was admitted in England to be unsatisfactory, and on the 14th of February 1852 Earl Grey wrote to Lieutenant-Governor Pine that "the system pursued towards the natives ought as soon as possible to be replaced by a better one. In his opinion this might best be effected by employing the chiefs as the agents and instruments of British authority." This led to the appointment on the 25th of September 1852 of a "commission to investigate and report upon the best measures to be adopted with the view to the future government of the natives." A vast amount of evidence was taken by this commission, but nothing of any material consequence was effected by it. It could not have

been otherwise, when the sole remedy—physical force—was wanting. The weak cannot carry out their views against the will of the strong.

An alteration, however, was made in the titles of the officials dealing with the blacks. On the 22nd of November 1852 an ordinance for the appointment of assistant resident magistrates was passed, and thereafter the former title, which implied that the natives were nearly independent of the Europeans, was not used. The office of diplomatic agent, which in the same way denoted the independence of the Bantu, was abolished, and on the 30th of July 1853 Mr. Theophilus Shepstone, who had held it, was appointed secretary for native affairs.

In 1854 Mr. Shepstone made a proposal which, if it had been carried out, would most certainly have been productive of much evil to the Cape Colony, and could hardly have benefited Natal. Between the Umzimkulu and Umtata rivers the upper terrace, or the high plateau at the base of the Kathlamba mountains, was at that time without other inhabitants than a few Bushmen. It was a beautiful tract of land, covered with rich grass, and drained by numerous streamlets, mostly tributaries of the Umzimvubu. Occasionally in July and August the cold at night was too severe to be pleasant, but otherwise to the Bantu it was preferable to the highlands of Natal. This territory was included in the domains of the Pondo chief Faku by Sir Peregrine Maitland's treaty of the 7th of October 1844, but to him it was useless, and it was anticipated that he would have no objection to part with it.

Already he had expressed a wish to be relieved of the responsibility of preserving order in another portion of the territory assigned to him by the treaty, and not occupied by his people. The same Bushmen who were leagued with the Bacas, and whose conduct caused the attack upon Ncapayi in December 1840, nine years later stole a number of cattle from residents in Natal. The government then sent an expedition under Mr. Walter

Harding to demand compensation from the Pondo chief under the terms of the treaty, and a thousand head of cattle were given up. At the same time Faku offered to cede to Natal the land between the Umzimkulu and Umtamvuna rivers, as he was unable to obtain control over the greater number of the people residing on it, and did not wish to be held accountable for their misdeeds. This offer was not acted upon until the 1st of January 1866, when the British flag was hoisted on the left bank of the Umtamvuna river and the present county of Alfred was added to Natal; but it indicated the condition of things in the Pondo treaty state. The cattle given up by Faku to Mr. Harding were in excess of the number required to make good the robberies by the Bushmen, and in November 1850 the lieutenant-governor returned six hundred head to the chief.

Mr. Shepstone some time before had proposed that the whole of the upper plateau between the Umzimkulu and the Kei should be settled by Europeans, as a ready means of controlling the Bantu both in Natal and in British Kaffraria; but the imperial authorities were averse to any extension of the colonial territory, and as the plan required a line of military posts garrisoned by two thousand men until the settlement should be sufficiently advanced to defend itself, it was not even taken into consideration.

He then proposed that he should obtain from Faku a cession to himself of the north-eastern portion of the plateau, and induce some fifty or sixty thousand of the blacks in Natal to move into it. He was to accompany them in the capacity of their chief, to be recognised as an independent ruler by the British government, and to receive a subsidy of £500 a year. In short, his plan was that he should be made the head of such a treaty state as those which Sir Harry Smith so wisely destroyed. This proposal found favour with Lieutenant-Governor Pine and the imperial authorities, Faku's consent was obtained without difficulty, and steps were in progress for carrying it out when Sir

George Grey arrived as governor of the Cape Colony and Natal and high commissioner for South Africa. He saw at once that it was fraught with danger, inasmuch as it would multiply the barbarians on the eastern border of the old colony and most likely not relieve Natal in the least, as the vacuum created would at once be filled by a stream of refugees from Zululand. On the 3rd of December 1855 the able governor addressed a long despatch to the secretary of state, in which he explained his objections to the scheme so fully that the imperial authorities caused it to be abandoned.

In 1856 events in Zululand caused much disquietude in Natal. The old chief Panda had become so corpulent that he could not move about, and had lost all the energy of his younger years. Two of his sons, by name Umbulazi and Ketshwayo (Cetywayo as spelt by many writers), disputed the right of succession, and each gathered about him as many adherents as he could. It was believed that Panda favoured Umbulazi, but if it was so he took no active steps to support him, though the rivalry between the brothers threatened the tribe with destruction. "Two young bulls," he observed, "could not be in the same kraal without fighting, let them settle their disputes as they choose." The adherents of Umbulazi were strongest in the southern part of the country, and towards the close of 1856 they concentrated along the Tugela. Natal was therefore believed by its inhabitants, white and black, to be in imminent danger of invasion, as Umbulazi might desire to obtain renown after the manner of Tshaka, and cross the stream with that object, or he might be obliged to do so if Ketshwayo gathered strength.

On each side the young warriors were eager for battle, and could hardly be kept in restraint. In their own opinion they had done nothing as yet to entitle them to be regarded as men, and they were clamorous that their leaders should attack some one, it did not much matter whom, that they might have an opportunity of showing their prowess and "washing their spears." On the 2nd of December 1856 the

army under Ketshwayo, which termed itself the Usutu, attacked Umbulazi's kraals on the Tugela, and a battle took place which rivalled in stubbornness that in which Dingan's power was overthrown. John Dunn, who afterwards became notorious in Zululand, fought on Umbulazi's side that day, but was afterwards taken by Ketshwayo into favour. Four or five thousand warriors had fallen when Umbulazi, seeing the destruction of his best regiments and that all was lost, endeavoured to make his escape to the northward. He had almost reached the Inyoni river when he was overtaken and put to death. Three other sons of Panda fell in the battle, and two who were subsequently captured died under torture. The Usutu were not satisfied with this, but massacred the whole of Umbulazi's followers that they could find, men, women, and children alike, thus "washing their spears" to their entire satisfaction. The Tugela was swollen at the time, and those who entered it as their only chance of escape from butchery were swept off their feet and drowned. The only man of any note on Umbulazi's side that escaped the slaughter of that day was the renegade Englishman John Dunn, and it would have been well for Ketshwayo in later years if he too had fallen. The alarm in Natal did not subside for a considerable time; but the Usutu respected British territory, and made no attempt to cross the Tugela.

From this time Ketshwayo was the actual ruler of the Zulu tribe, though Panda remained its nominal head. A considerable number of the people, indeed, were not favourably disposed towards him; but having no leader of mark to rally round, and knowing that unsuccessful opposition would be followed by their slaughter, they chose to profess a devotion that they did not feel.

Early in 1857 the peace of Natal was disturbed by a petty chief named Sidoyi, head of a clan living on the southern bank of the Umkomanzi river. He was a young man of violent temper and ferocious disposition, whose conduct had been a source of anxiety to his people ever

since 1850, when he took over their government from a regent, his father having long been dead. He had been reprimanded previously by the British authorities, but had paid little heed to their warning. To his position as chief he added that of witchfinder, so that altogether he was as objectionable an individual as could be found in the district.

Some ten miles distant from Sidoyi's kraal lived a small clan under the chief Umshukungubo. One of Sidoyi's followers married a girl of this clan, and at the wedding feast beer was drunk in such profusion that the guests became riotous and finally fought with their assagais. This is a common occurrence on such occasions, and unless someone is killed, or at least very badly wounded, no notice is usually taken of it, the circumstance being regarded as a matter of course; and if the beaten party were to exhibit their bruises and complain, they would only draw ridicule upon themselves. In the quarrel at this wedding feast, however, one of Umshukungubo's men was killed, and two of Sidoyi's followers were severely wounded. Sidoyi himself was not present. At daylight next morning the warcry was raised by the people of the stronger clan, who attacked Umshukungubo's kraal, from which the residents fled, when their huts were plundered, and the assailants then retired with their booty.

The worsted chief at once sent a report of what had occurred to Mr. Hawkins, the nearest magistrate, and entreated protection from the government. Mr. Hawkins replied that he would proceed to the spot and investigate the matter, and in the meantime everyone was to keep quiet. Sidoyi also sent to inform the magistrate of the quarrel, but did not wait for a reply. Three days after the first disturbance, at the head of five hundred men he attacked Umshukungubo, who with only eighty warriors stood his ground until he and twenty of his retainers were killed. It was then dusk. Next morning Sidoyi mutilated the corpse of the fallen chief by cutting off his right hand and taking out his tongue and right eye, in the superstitious

belief that by so doing he would add to his own power that of his victim.

Mr. Hawkins arrived a little later, but Sidoyi refused to appear before him. All parties were then summoned to Maritzburg to account for what had occurred to the lieutenant-governor as supreme chief. The survivors of Umshukungubo's clan responded to the summons, as did also some of Sidoyi's men, but the chief would not obey. It then became necessary to use force against him, or the authority of the government would have fallen into contempt. It was the most anxious time the authorities had ever known, for the eye of every black man in the district was fixed upon them. The clans were always ready to fall upon each other as the Zulu regiments had just done, so Mr. Scott resolved to utilise the feeling of jealousy that existed among them, and to punish Sidoyi at once. Accordingly some eight or nine hundred men, all eager for a fray, were called out, and were formed into two bands, led respectively by Mr. John Shepstone and Mr. Benjamin Moodie. On the 18th of April 1857 these bands advanced upon Sidoyi's kraal from different directions, while Mr. Theophilus Shepstone, the secretary for native affairs, with another party including some Cape mounted riflemen made a detour to the southward to prevent assistance reaching Sidoyi from that direction. The instructions given by the lieutenant-governor were that all the cattle, horses, and guns were to be seized, and the chief and his principal men to be made prisoners; but that no huts were to be burned, no women or children harmed, and no assagai was to be used except in overcoming armed resistance.

The expedition was successful in seizing the cattle and goats of the offending clan, with twelve horses and seven stand of firearms. The opposition was so slight that not one of the attacking party was killed, though one man lost his life by an accident, and four of Sidoyi's followers were slain. The chief himself made his escape and fled beyond the Umzimkulu, and the whole clan then submitted and

promised implicit obedience to the government. The old men stated that they had endeavoured to persuade Sidoyi not to conduct himself as he had done, but admitted that they as his people deserved punishment for his acts. Communal responsibility is indeed so entirely in accordance with Bantu ideas that if a man is fined by a chief, and is unable to pay, his nearest relations must make good the deficiency. Sidoyi's people therefore never thought of trying to shield themselves from the confiscation of their property by pleading that their action in the matter had been involuntary. They begged, however, that the government would not be too severe with them, but would grant them "a spark to kindle fresh fire," meaning thereby a few head of cattle. Mr. Shepstone accordingly restored sixteen hundred head to them, and further left twelve hundred head with Mr. Hawkins, from which to relieve any cases of distress that might occur among the people during the winter. Seven hundred head were given as a reward to the native force, and the remainder—rather more than three thousand head—were sold by public auction to defray the expense that had been incurred.

A new chief, Zatshuke by name, was then set over the clan by the government. The people received him well, though he was not of their ruling family, and promised to obey him, a promise which they faithfully kept. Sidoyi was outlawed, and thereafter did not venture to appear within the boundary of Natal.

A few months later there was a somewhat similar occurrence in the Klip River county. Matyana, chief of a clan of some strength, was accused of having caused the death of a man named Sigatiya, and was summoned to Maritzburg to account for his conduct, but refused to appear. Once before he had been punished for murder by the Natal government. On that occasion a charge of dealing in witchcraft had been made against his father's brother, Vela by name, of whom he was exceedingly jealous. Matyana had then caused Vela and his two sons to be

killed, thus ridding himself of possible rivals. This offence, which the government regarded as forbidden by the order in council of the 8th of March 1848, as it was "repugnant to the general principles of humanity recognised throughout the whole civilised world," he did not attempt to deny, merely shielding himself under the assertion that his victims were sorcerers. He had then been fined five hundred head of cattle, which he paid, and the matter ended.

In 1857 one of his followers, named Ntwetwe, became ill, and as his malady increased, a witchfinder was consulted, who charged Sigatiya with causing the sickness. Matyana asserted afterwards that he gave no order as to what was to be done in the matter, but whether he did or not, Sigatiya was seized and bound so that he could not escape, and when Ntwetwe died, three young men, relatives of the deceased, were allowed to torture the prisoner to death, without being prevented or punished for their conduct. This was the offence for which Matyana was required to stand his trial.

As he would not appear, a force sufficiently strong to overcome any resistance he might offer was raised by calling out Langalibalele's Hlubis, with the men of some other clans, who, under Mr. John Shepstone's command, marched against him. After a slight resistance, in which two Hlubis and thirteen of the insurgents were killed, Matyana and his men fled to a jungle, leaving all their cattle—seven thousand in number—behind, which were at once seized.

Mr. Shepstone then sent a message to Matyana inviting him to a conference, and after some hesitation the chief complied, but went with all his warriors fully armed. On the way another message reached him that he must lay down his weapons, as it was against all law or custom to appear armed before an officer in authority. This the chief consented to do, and apparently the whole of the assagais of the party were left at the side of the path, though a few were concealed beneath his covering by at least one of the leading men. A conference then took place, both parties being seated on the ground. Exactly what transpired at the

commencement of the interview cannot be stated with accuracy, as the evidence is conflicting, but it is certain that the discussion was of a violent nature and that there was much confusion. At its height Mr. Shepstone drew out a pistol and fired, but whether at Matyana or not is uncertain, as all was uproar and every one present was in a violent passion. A rush was then made for the assagais that had been left at some distance, but before they could be reached twenty-five of Matyana's men were killed. It was a deplorable occurrence, and many years later it was brought as an accusation against Mr. Shepstone that he had acted treacherously towards people who had accepted his invitation to meet him in conference. It was even stated that he had arranged with his party beforehand to seize the chief when he should give the signal by firing his pistol. The evidence on which this charge rests is, however, so untrustworthy that it cannot be accepted, and the probability is very great that the unfortunate event occurred in a moment of great excitement and under feelings of intense exasperation at the conduct of an unruly and defiant chief.

Matyana escaped unhurt, and with a few of his most devoted followers fled into Zululand, where he afterwards remained. The government pronounced him deposed from his chieftainship, outlawed him, and distributed his people among other clans, so that his influence and power perished.

The punishment inflicted upon Sidoyi and Matyana had such an exemplary effect upon the Bantu in Natal that for many years afterwards none of them ventured to disobey the government openly, and care was taken to issue no orders that would be likely to produce general discontent. The problem remained, however, how to deal with them in such a way as to prevent them from being a danger to the Europeans, to make them useful members of the community, and to induce them to adopt habits regarded by white men as essential to their own well being. In 1857 it was estimated that there were in Natal in round numbers one hundred and fifty thousand Bantu inhabitants.

CHAPTER XLIV.

THE DISTRICT OF NATAL. 1845 TO 1857—(*continued*).

THE EUROPEAN SECTION OF THE COMMUNITY.

THE European inhabitants of Natal in 1845 consisted of about four hundred families of emigrant Dutch farmers, who were engaged in pastoral pursuits, and a couple of hundred Englishmen, most of whom resided in Durban. Others began to arrive soon afterwards from the Cape Colony and Great Britain, attracted by prospects of trade, or of obtaining ground, or of profitable employment as mechanics. Some of these were men possessed of a considerable amount of capital as well as an unbounded supply of energy. But it was only a ripple, not a wave, of immigration that set upon the shore. Five years after the landing of the English troops there were fewer white people in the district than on the day the *Conch* sailed over the bar.

One of the chief complaints of the Dutch residents was that those who had not occupied their farms continuously during the twelve months preceding the arrival of Commissioner Cloete were entitled by the new regulations to only two thousand acres of ground. They declared that occupation at that time was impossible to most of them, as they had been compelled to remain in lager owing to the influx of refugees from Zululand. After the locations for the blacks were laid out another complaint was made by those who had occupied their farms, and were therefore entitled under the regulations to six thousand acres on

payment of a yearly quitrent of £4. A considerable number of these farms were included in the locations, and their owners were consequently compelled to abandon them and seek ground elsewhere, which they were informed would be given to them as compensation. But plots of good ground six thousand acres in extent, without European claimants or Kaffir squatters upon them, were not easily found on the central plateau, and the consequence was that many families were in great distress. Believing that there was no security for life or property in Natal, the whole of the Dutch farmers prepared to abandon the country, and with what remained of their property to seek a new home elsewhere. But before taking the final step, they resolved to send one of their number to the Cape Colony to lay their case before the governor and ascertain whether he could afford them relief.

For this purpose they elected as a delegate Mr. A. W. J. Pretorius, who had just been obliged to abandon his farm Welverdiend, about six miles from Maritzburg. Mr. Pretorius accordingly crossed the Drakensberg, and at Winburg was joined by Mr. Jacobus Duplooy, who was chosen by the people of that district to accompany him and complain of the conduct towards them of the British resident in Adam Kok's territory.

Upon arriving in Grahamstown, where Sir Henry Pottinger was then residing, Messrs. Pretorius and Duplooy repeatedly tried to obtain an interview with him, but without success. He declined to see them, or to take any notice whatever of their complaints. Mr. Pretorius then, on the 16th of October 1847, wrote a long letter, which he addressed to the governor, but caused to be published in the newspapers.

In this letter he described the distress to which the emigrant farmers in Natal were reduced on account of the land which they claimed not having been given to them, and by the policy pursued towards the blacks, whom he estimated to be then not less than one hundred thousand in number. He gave as instances of the manner in which they were favoured two cases in which he was personally

interested. A spur of the Zwartkops location had been run in between his farms Welverdiend and Rietvlei, respectively about six and twelve miles from Maritzburg, and thus these places, upon which there were improvements that he valued at £3,000, were made worthless. Two farms to which two of his sons had established their claims, and which had been allotted to them, had been subsequently taken from them to be included in a location. In these last cases the government had repeatedly promised compensation in land somewhere else, but it had not yet been given. And what had happened to his family had happened to others, so that in the whole district of Maritzburg there were then only twenty-two or twenty-three occupied farms.

On the 21st of October 1847 Sir Henry Pottinger issued a notice, giving as reasons for not granting Messrs. Pretorius and Duplooy an interview, the great pressure of other work, the length of time that would be needed for an investigation of their complaints, and his anticipated early departure from South Africa. A copy of the notice was sent to the delegates, which was the only recognition they received from the governor.

Mr. Pretorius was thus obliged to return to his constituents disappointed and despairing of any relief other than a fresh migration. On his way to the Orange river he was everywhere received with the warmest sympathy, to such an extent, indeed, that numbers of people, men and women, resolved to throw in their lot with the emigrants, in consequence of which the stream of refugees from the Cape Colony was greater during the next few months than at any preceding period after 1838. Material prosperity has always been highly valued by the old South African colonists, but it is not the standard by which their actions are guided to the extent that it is with Englishmen generally, and it is often completely lost sight of, as in this instance, when sentiment of a powerful kind is roused.

On arriving in Natal Mr. Pretorius met a number of people fleeing from their homes, among whom was his own family.

His wife was lying ill in a waggon, his youngest daughter had been compelled to lead the team of oxen and had been severely hurt by one of them, and his milch cows had all been stolen by the blacks. The tidings that he brought destroyed the last hope of the farmers, and they resolved immediately to abandon the district in a body. While their preparations were being made Sir Harry Smith became governor, and on learning what was taking place sent an express to Mr. Pretorius asking him to delay the movement until he could visit Natal. In the beginning of February 1848 he crossed the Drakensberg, and on the left bank of the Tugela, near the foot of the mountains, found the farmers with their families and all their possessions waiting for him. In a despatch to the secretary of state written a few days later, he stated that "they were exposed to a state of misery which he had never before seen equalled, except in Massena's invasion of Portugal, when the whole of the population of that part of the seat of war abandoned their homes and fled. The scene was truly heartrending."

Nothing could exceed the respect which the farmers paid to his Excellency personally, or the kindness and confidence with which he addressed them. Sir Harry asked the cause of their leaving Natal, and received for answer "the allowing such an influx of blacks that there was neither protection nor safety for the farmers." He then said if they would return he would place things on a better footing, but they answered that "it was not possible to live among so many thousand blacks."

The governor remained several days in the farmers' camp, and at length succeeded in arranging matters so that many of them agreed to remain in the district and a considerable number of those who had left it in previous years were induced to return. All who were entitled to farms of six thousand acres were to receive them in full property without any delay. Those who were only entitled to farms of two thousand acres were to receive six thousand on the following conditions:

1. That the grantees should attend at the inspection of such farms by the proper officer.

2. That the grantees should personally occupy such farms within six months from the date of the grant by the lieutenant-governor, and continue so to occupy them until actual measurement should be effected.

3. That such farms should not be alienated, mortgaged, or let, for the term of seven years from the issue of the title-deed, without the consent of the lieutenant-governor.

4. That such farms should not be executable by legal process, within the same period, without the like consent.

These conditions were embodied in a proclamation issued on the 10th of February 1848, and a land commission, consisting of Lieutenant-Colonel Boys as president, and Messrs. Donald Moodie, Jacobus Nicolaas Boshof, and Andries W. J. Pretorius, with Captain Kyle, of the 45th regiment, as secretary, was appointed to carry them into effect. An explanatory minute by the governor, dated on the 24th of May, directed the commission to act in the most liberal manner. As Mr. Pretorius left Natal, on the 7th of July Mr. Jan Philip Zietsman was appointed in his place, so that the farmers were represented by two of the ablest men among them.

When making these arrangements Sir Harry Smith was well aware that much of the land thus alienated from the crown would be at once disposed of, but he felt that there was no other way of saving Natal. If those farmers had gone over the mountains the district must have reverted to barbarism, for there were no Englishmen then ready to take their places. Along the head waters of the Tugela and its tributaries the Klip and the Sunday there were fewer blacks than in any other part of Natal, and it was arranged that as many as possible of the new grants—the land commission farms as they were afterwards termed—should be laid out there. Upon these and the registered farms in the same locality—that is those which were held by right of occupation during twelve months before Commissioner Cloete's

arrival—several hundred Dutch families settled permanently, and gave such stability to that part of the district that the lieutenant-governor described them afterwards as a most efficient border guard.

In the course of a few years most of the registered farms in other parts of Natal were sold to speculators, and by a proclamation of Lieutenant-Governor Pine on the 5th of August 1851 the land commission farms were also thrown into the market if their owners desired to dispose of them. This proclamation annulled the last two conditions laid down by Sir Harry Smith, and permitted the owners to sell at any time on payment of a fine of two pence per acre if the farm was south of the Bushman's river, or one penny per acre if it was north of that stream. Gradually then the farmers sold their ground in the lower part of the district, and moved to the high plateau where their friends were residing. Undoubtedly it was injurious to Natal that large areas of land should fall in this manner into the hands of mere speculators, most of whom were not even residents, but in the condition of the country at the time that could not be avoided.

In 1848 thirty-five families of agricultural labourers from the neighbourhood of Bremen in Northern Germany were brought out by Mr. J. Bergtheil, a merchant of Durban, with a view to their employment in the cultivation of cotton. This design, however, was abandoned after their landing, and they were located at New Germany, a few miles inland from Durban, where they established themselves as market gardeners, and through their industry and frugality soon placed themselves in comfortable circumstances. They were in all only one hundred and eighty-three souls. The success which these people attained as agriculturists, the proofs which they furnished of the capabilities of the soil, and the strength which a body of industrious peasants always imparts to a country, clearly pointed out one of the classes of settlers most suited to Natal.

In the following year a stream of immigration for the first time began to set in from Great Britain. A gentleman named Joseph Charles Byrne, who had visited Natal in 1843 and 1844, made a tour through England, delivering addresses upon the great capabilities of the district, and succeeded in creating a desire among many people to try their fortunes in it. He then made an arrangement with the imperial government, based upon the principle that the proceeds of public land sales were to be devoted to the introduction of suitable settlers. He was to deposit money in the bank of England, in sums of not less than £1,000 at a time, to the credit of the emigration commissioners, Messrs. T. W. C. Murdoch and C. A. Wood, whose approval of the emigrants he should send out was required, as well as of the accommodation on board ship and provisions on the passage. He was to purchase crown land in Natal, which was to be put up to auction at an upset price of four shillings an acre, a rate fixed by the secretary of state in 1847. For every settler over fourteen years of age whom he should introduce he was to receive on such purchases a refund of £10 from his deposit, and for every child under fourteen a refund of £5, or in other words he was to have fifty acres for an adult and twenty-five for a child, free of payment.

Mr. Byrne then arranged with the owners of cargo vessels to take steerage passengers to Natal at low fares, and offered as an inducement to emigrants twenty acres of ground to each adult and five acres to each child. Numbers of mechanics, farm labourers, and townspeople accepted his offer and paid their passage money, which was only £10 for an adult and half that sum for a child. The first of these immigrants left London in the brig *Wanderer* on the 22nd of January 1849, and landed at Durban on the 16th of May. They were speedily followed by others from London, Portsmouth, Plymouth, Liverpool, and Glasgow.

On their arrival they found that no plots of ground had been surveyed or even selected, and when after long delay

land was allotted to them by Mr. John Moreland, Mr. Byrne's agent, much of it was unfit for agriculture. To encourage them, the lieutenant-governor gave to each adult twenty-five acres additional, and to each child six acres and a quarter, still it was only with difficulty that they could make a living on these little plots. All who could obtain other employment did so, and it cannot be said that agriculture in Natal was much advanced by these immigrants, except in the cases of a few individuals who were unusually intelligent and industrious. In other pursuits, however, many of them did exceedingly well.

Some other persons got out a few settlers in the same manner as Mr. Byrne, and before the close of 1851 about four thousand five hundred of all ages were thus introduced. Then the scheme came to an end through Mr. Byrne's insolvency. In return for his own labour, the interest on his deposits, the maintenance of his agent in Natal, and all other incidental expenses, he received nothing from the enterprise but thirty acres of ground for each adult settler and twenty acres for each child that he introduced, and instead of that being worth four shillings an acre, its upset price, hundreds of thousands of acres superior in quality were being offered by speculators at less than one-fourth of that charge.

The emigrants to a new country usually consist of a much larger number of men than of women, and Natal was no exception to this general rule. Of every hundred individuals brought out by Mr. Byrne, 49 were men, 23 were women, and 28 were children.* This disproportion of the sexes was the cause of restlessness among them, and in 1852 and 1853 many migrated from Natal to Australia.

There was, however, a constant, though small, influx of Europeans which compensated for this loss. Professional

* With those who migrated to Natal from the Cape Colony and elsewhere as independent settlers, the proportion of women was slightly greater. The port returns for 1850 give 1,736 males and 987 females as assisted immigrants, and 290 males and 172 females as unassisted. Under such circumstances a large proportion of the immigrants soon left again.

men, merchants, planters, missionaries, and others were attracted to the district, so that at the close of 1856 it was believed that there were from seven to eight thousand white people in it.

To encourage European immigrants, on the 7th of July 1856 it was notified by the government that land would be given to suitable applicants on military tenure, similar to the system then recently adopted on the eastern border of the Cape Colony. Farms so given out were not to be less than fifty nor more than three thousand acres in extent, and in addition to personal occupation and the maintenance of a fully equipped European horseman for every thousand acres beyond the first, an annual quitrent of not less than £6 was to be paid. The quitrent, however, could be redeemed by fifteen years purchase. But the condition of the district was such that this system could not be carried out. There was nowhere a large tract of suitable land unoccupied, upon which a number of men could be placed together, as in the district of Queenstown; and no one cared to occupy ground on military tenure without a strong party of neighbours to aid him in case of need.

On the 29th of April 1857 Lieutenant-Governor Scott issued a proclamation offering the vacant crown lands to applicants in farms of from three hundred to three thousand acres in size, at a quitrent varying from one farthing to two pence halfpenny an acre according to the quality and position of the ground, but with a proviso that if not occupied a fine equal to four times the quitrent would be imposed. Under these conditions people already in Natal were very willing to take up the land, mainly for purposes of speculation. Much of it was leased by them to native tenants, usually at a yearly rental of five shillings for each family, and thus outside of the great locations a large Bantu population was soon found that it would have been dangerous to disturb.

The English settlers in Natal, like those in the Cape Colony, objected to the Roman-Dutch law of inheritance,

which would not permit a parent entirely to disinherit a child except for special reasons, and which regulated the distribution of property in a manner they were unaccustomed to. The Dutch settlers, on the other hand, were equally averse to the law of primogeniture. To meet both cases, an ordinance was passed by the legislature of Natal empowering natural-born subjects of her Majesty to dispose of their property by will in any manner that pleased them, but leaving intestate estates subject to the South African mode of distribution. This ordinance was confirmed by the imperial authorities, notification of which was sent to the lieutenant-governor on the 6th of June 1856.

The climatic conditions of Natal led the early settlers to believe that the most useful plants of the torrid zone could be cultivated to advantage along its seaboard. The land rises, as has before been observed, in terraces, the highest of which, at the base of the Kathlamba, is cool, receives its moisture from thunderstorms, and is adapted chiefly for pastoral pursuits. The central terrace rises to a height inland of from two to three thousand feet, has a rainfall usually ample for agricultural purposes, and is adapted for the growth of the plants of Southern and Central Europe. The orange, the guava, the plum, the peach, the fig, the pear, and the apple here attain perfection side by side. The lowest terrace presents a tropical appearance, owing to the hot Mozambique current which runs along the shore. The soil is rich and is drained by numerous small streams, many of the kloofs are well wooded, and the vegetation everywhere is extremely luxuriant. In the summer monsoon, from October to March, the wind comes laden with moisture from the warm sea, and deposits it so abundantly that the yearly rainfall is from forty to fifty inches. Sometimes, though fortunately very rarely, the downpour is so excessive as to cause great damage to cultivated ground. In the most severe storm ever known in Natal, from the 14th to the 16th of April 1856, no less than twenty-seven inches of rain fell at Durban. The Umgeni river rose in its lower course twenty-

eight feet above its ordinary level, and overflowed a large portion of the flat on which the town is built. Such storms, however, have never been known to extend over large areas at the same time, though all parts of the south-eastern coast are subject to them. The warm belt rises to a height inland of about a thousand feet.

The terraces are everywhere broken up, and hills and mountains in the greatest variety of form are to be seen. The rivers run in deep channels. The largest of them, the Tugela, Umkomanzi, and Umzimkulu, rise in the Kathlamba, and have a fall from its base of over six thousand feet before they enter the sea. In all the streams there are rapids between the reaches of deep water, and in many of them there are beautiful cascades. One waterfall, in the Umgeni, a couple of hours ride from Maritzburg, is three hundred and twenty-three feet in height. The climate everywhere, even on the warm coast belt, is healthy for Europeans.

The first experiment that was made was with the cotton plant. Dr. Adams, of the American mission, procured some seed from one of the Southern States, which he planted in his garden, with a view of endeavouring to induce the natives to cultivate it, should the experiment prove successful. It appeared to him to be most desirable that some industry should be introduced among these people, which would provide easy occupation for the children who were passing their time in idleness, and likewise procure for their parents the means of purchasing articles of foreign manufacture. Cotton seemed to him the plant best adapted for this purpose. It was found by him to thrive as well as in the Southern States of America, and great hopes were entertained that the natives would cultivate it extensively and that the looms of Lancashire would soon be supplied with raw material from a British possession. But these hopes of the missionary were doomed to disappointment, for the Bantu could not be induced to become cotton planters even on a small scale, neither then nor some years later when the government tried to prevail upon them to do so.

Some Europeans, however, were convinced from what they saw that cotton was an article whose production would be remunerative, and quite an enthusiastic feeling was aroused in its favour. It was the chief allurement held out by Mr. Byrne to draw settlers to Natal. But cotton can only be grown with profit where there is an abundant supply of cheap labour, and experience soon showed that the blacks could not be depended upon to furnish hands in the picking season. In one year—1850—about six tons and a half were gathered, but in succeeding seasons the first planters were so discouraged by seeing the bulk of their crops lost for want of labourers that they abandoned cotton growing in despair. It was taken up afterwards by others who believed the natives only needed kindly treatment to induce them to supply their services, and occasionally some one would be able to gather a good crop, which led others to embark in the same industry. It was found that the plant throve best a few miles from the coast, and that in certain places it was subject to damage from a small fly; but the great difficulty —want of reliable labour in the picking season—prevented its becoming a permanent product of Natal.

In 1847 the first sugar cane plants were introduced from Mauritius by Mr. Edmund Moreland. He had observed how luxuriantly the sweet cane used by the natives grew, and was convinced that the variety which produces the sugar of commerce would thrive equally well. He was not then aware that sugar can be extracted from the Kaffir cane, as later experiments proved it can be, though in quantities too small to be remunerative. In 1852 he produced some very good sugar on his estate Compensation, near the Umhlali river, about thirty-six miles from Durban, though his appliances for its manufacture were of the rudest kind. The industry, which needed a large amount of capital to commence with, was then taken in hand by others, experienced men arrived from Mauritius to engage in it, necessary machinery was imported, and sugar planting was soon firmly established as the leading occupation along the coast. But

it may be questioned whether it has not been more injurious than profitable to Natal. The same want of labour that caused the abandonment of cotton growing was experienced on the cane plantations, and even at this early stage the proprietors were beginning to turn their eyes towards India as a source from which field hands might be obtained. None, however, were actually introduced before 1857, so that it would be out of place here to describe the evil effects of bringing Asiatics into the country.

Arrowroot, ginger, coffee, indigo, tobacco, and flax were all experimented with at this time, and all were found to thrive, though in more recent years it has been proved that some of these articles cannot be produced with profit. The orange in all its varieties, the pineapple, the banana, and many other fruits were introduced, and in 1855 began to be exported, chiefly as preserves.

In 1855 the lung sickness among horned cattle was introduced into Natal from the territory beyond the Drakensberg, and caused enormous loss to the settlers, particularly to the Dutch farmers, whose principal support was derived from their herds. This induced them to turn their attention to breeding woolled sheep, which were found to thrive very well on the highlands. At a date somewhat later it was ascertained by experiment that a larger rate of increase and a better quality of wool could be obtained by pasturing sheep in Natal during the dry season of the year and driving them over the Drakensberg to feed on the interior plain during the summer season, and this system came largely into use, still they could be kept without difficulty on either the central or the high plateau of Natal all the year round. In course of time the lung sickness became less destructive, and at length a preventative was discovered in inoculation with virus in a mild form, when breeding horned cattle again became a favourite industry; but sheep farming continued also to be carried on successfully.

The European community, small as it was, exhibited a wonderful amount of energy. Associations, benevolent,

political, agricultural, and commercial, abounded. The Natal Society offered to the public the use of a good library free of charge, and many of the addresses and lectures delivered under its auspices might have been listened to with interest in the greatest cities of the empire. Though there were no high schools, the elementary education of the children was not neglected, and there were numerous churches of different denominations. The Independent, Dutch reformed, Presbyterian, and Wesleyan were the principal religious bodies, and the Roman catholics were not far behind. On the 30th of January 1854 the right reverend Dr. John William Colenso arrived as the first bishop of the church of England, the see of Natal having been created by letters patent dated the 23rd of November 1853. The bishop devoted himself chiefly to missionary work, and in later years became as celebrated among the blacks for his interest in them as throughout the Christian world for his controversial writings. Sobantu—father of the people—was the name given to him by chance upon his first arrival, but ever afterwards applied in affectionate regard.

The press was probably more active than in any other part of the world with double the number of readers. Two of the newspapers, the *Natal Witness*, first issued at Maritzburg in March 1846, and the *Natal Mercury*, first issued at Durban in 1852, are still in existence. The *Natal Independent*, commenced at Maritzburg in January 1850, and the *Natal Times*, commenced at Durban in August 1851, ably represented different interests. There were several other English newspapers, but they had only an ephemeral existence. The *Natalier*, which first appeared in 1843, and the *Natal en Zuid-Oost Afrikaan*, commenced in April 1853, were issued for the use of the Dutch inhabitants, but were not long lived.

On the 11th of April 1849 the Natal Fire Assurance and Trust Company was established with a capital of £10,000. It acted as a bank also, and as it enjoyed unlimited confidence its funds were found sufficient for all purposes for

several years. On the 1st of April 1854 the Natal Bank was established, with a capital of £20,000.

Maritzburg, the seat of government, and Durban, the seaport, were the principal centres of European population, but outlying villages were beginning to spring up. In 1850 Pinetown, thirteen miles from Durban on the road to Maritzburg, Verulam, on the Umhloti, Richmond, on the Ilovo, and Ladysmith, on the Klip river, were founded. The last named was made the seat of magistracy of the Klip River division.

The whole territory of Natal was laid out in three great divisions: Durban, Maritzburg, and Klip River, in each of which there was a chief magistrate. These areas were subdivided into counties, which were provided with assistant resident magistrates. The highest court was that of the recorder, at Maritzburg, and from it there was an appeal to the supreme court of the Cape Colony until 1853. On the 16th of August of that year a case—Feilden *versus* Buchanan and others—came in appeal before the full court in Capetown, when the chief justice, Sir John Wylde, and Mr. Justice Bell ruled that it could not be heard, owing to a want of the necessary formality in the ratification by the queen of the Cape ordinance No. 14 of 1845, which gave the right of appellate jurisdiction. Mr. Justice Musgrave dissented from this view, on the ground that the ordinance as it stood had been framed and passed by direction of the secretary of state for the colonies, and had been constantly acted upon; but from that time onward no decisions from Natal were reviewed. The recorder went on circuit periodically to try important cases. In November 1855 Mr. Cloete was promoted to be third puisne judge in the Cape Colony, and was succeeded by Mr. Walter Harding as acting recorder of Natal.

The revenue of the district was steadily increasing, though even in 1856 it was very small for the support of an efficient administration. The principal item was derived from customs duties on imports, which were the same as in the Cape

Colony, namely five per cent of the value of British and twelve per cent of the value of foreign goods, except on a few articles which were specially classified. The total revenue received in 1846 was £3,095 9*s.* 11*d.*, in 1847 £6,557 18*s.* 2*d.*, in 1848 £9,267 12*s.* 4*d.*, in 1849 £14,329 2*s.* 5*d.*, in 1850 £38,494 11*s.* 6*d.*, in 1853 £28,036 16*s.* 8*d.*, in 1855 £28,436 10*s.* 1*d.*, and in 1856 £29,451 11*s.* 1*d.* The items from which it was derived were the following:—

	1847	1850	1856
Custom duties ...	£2,881 17 7	£11,200 2 0	£10,318 19 11
Hut tax	—	9,251 2 9	10,403 8 0
Stamps and licenses	247 15 6	2,293 1 9	1,841 2 9
Transfer duties ..	1,063 10 1	1,625 14 2	1,805 2 11
Land revenue ...	—	410 15 2	1,489 7 2
Postage	—	355 19 5	1,273 1 1
Fines and fees ...	838 1 4	913 1 11	1,021 11 4
Auction duties ...	256 11 7	712 1 3	669 14 6
Land sales	1,166 7 9	11,273 11 4	394 15 5
Port dues	43 3 8	177 2 0	146 19 0
Miscellaneous ...	60 10 8	281 19 9	87 9 0
	£6,557 18 2	£38,494 11 6	£29,451 11 1

In 1850 the arrival of an unusual number of ships from Great Britain with immigrants under Mr. Byrne's scheme and goods upon which duty was paid tended to swell the revenue, and the land sales of that year brought in an amount very much greater than at any earlier or later period, so that the total receipts exceeded those of 1856 by £9,043 0s. 5d. But if the items affected by the causes here named be excluded, it will be seen that an advance was taking place, though slowly.

The principal article exported was ivory, which was obtained by traders from the country beyond the border. Some of the wool was brought from the territory beyond the Drakensberg, and also some of the butter and hides. The remaining articles in the list of exports exhibit the industries of the district and the progress that was made.

Exports of Natal during the three years from the 1st of January 1849 to the 31st of December 1851:

Ivory	£22,642	12	3
Butter	6,250	17	0
Horses, oxen, and other animals ...	4,574	0	0
Hides and horns	2,726	9	0
Maize, beans, peas, and potatoes ...	1,335	11	0
Wool	654	15	0
Cotton	477	10	0
Tobacco	90	0	0
Salted meat, tallow, and lard	48	13	0
Other articles	5,503	11	0
Total exports in 1849, 1850, and 1851 ...	£44,303	18	3

Or at the rate of £14,767 19*s.* 5*d.* a year.

Exports of Natal during the three years from the 1st of January 1854 to the 31st of December 1856:

Ivory	£35,853	12	0
Butter	22,012	2	1
Wool	19,107	3	4
Hides and horns	17,485	5	9
Salted meat, tallow, and lard	15,329	1	10
Timber	4,791	7	4
Maize, beans, peas, and potatoes ...	4,084	5	0
Arrowroot	2,857	9	0
Specimens of natural history and curiosities	1,501	18	0
Horses, oxen, and other animals ...	1,302	10	0
Sugar	503	0	0
Rum	275	7	6
Ostrich feathers	228	3	9
Fruit	129	0	0
Tobacco	119	0	0
Yams	18	13	0
Ground nuts	17	0	0
Coffee (in 1856)	15	0	0
Flax	8	0	0
Other articles	15	0	0
Total exports in 1854, 1855, and 1856	£125,652	18	7

Or at the rate of £41,884 6*s.* 2*d.* a year.

Most of the export trade was coastwise with the Cape Colony, but in 1855 shipment to England commenced. On the 19th of August of that year the *Siren* sailed from the

bay with a cargo of produce of the district valued at £10,400, being the first vessel to convey such freight direct to the mother country.

During the period from the 1st of January 1845 to the 31st of December 1856 the total value of goods imported was £939,751, and of articles exported £257,370, so that there was a balance of trade against the district of £682,381, which was made good by property introduced by immigrants and the expenditure of the garrison.

The governor of the Cape Colony was governor general of Natal, and correspondence between the secretary of state and the lieutenant-governor passed through his hands. Ordinances to be in force in Natal could be passed by the legislative council of the Cape Colony until the 2nd of March 1847, when letters patent were issued ordaining that the lieutenant-governor and such three or more persons as should at any time be appointed under the sign manual and with the advice of the privy council should constitute a legislative council for the district. On the 8th of March 1848 her Majesty appointed the secretary to government, the public prosecutor, and the surveyor-general members of the legislative council, and a proclamation to this effect was issued on the 25th of July, after which date ordinances were passed by this body subject to the confirmation of the governor-general and the imperial authorities.

On the 30th of March 1847 an ordinance was issued by the legislative council of the Cape Colony "for the creation of municipal boards in the towns and villages of the district of Natal." Under the powers conferred by this ordinance, on the 15th, 17th, and 18th of January 1848 the resident householders of Maritzburg assembled in public meeting and adopted a code of municipal regulations, which was somewhat altered by Lieutenant-Governor West and the executive council. On the 6th of March the amended regulations were unanimously adopted by the householders, and on the 10th the municipality was established by proclamation. Five commissioners were elected to form a council. The town

lands had been greatly reduced in extent by order of Lord Stanley on the 29th of June 1844, and the municipality covered an area of only three miles radius from the centre of the town.

The council continued to carry out the ordinary duties of a municipal board until the 12th of December 1853, when in an action against a householder for payment of rates the magistrate decided that it had no legal existence, owing to the ordinance under which it was created never having received the approval of the imperial government. The commissioners thereupon declined to act any longer, and the town was without a board for several months.

On the 21st of April 1854 an ordinance was issued for establishing municipal government in towns containing over a thousand inhabitants in the district of Natal. The boards were to consist of a mayor and seven councillors. Under this ordinance Maritzburg and Durban were proclaimed municipalities on the 15th of May of the same year.

On the 16th of May 1854 an ordinance was issued for establishing county councils, corresponding nearly to the divisional councils of the Cape Colony. They were to consist of the chief magistrates of the divisions, who were to preside in them, the assistant resident magistrates, the clerks of the peace, and one member elected by each ward in the county. On the 1st of June councils were proclaimed for the counties of Maritzburg, Durban, and Victoria, on the 19th of June for the county of Klip River, and on the 24th of June for the county of Umvoti.

Preparation was thus being made for the establishment of representative government, for which the energetic Europeans resident in Natal were generally desirous. A petition to this effect, with one hundred and seventy-five signatures, was sent to the queen in November 1848; another, with two hundred and thirty-one signatures, to the queen and both houses of parliament, followed in August 1852. Lieutenant-Governor Pine was strongly in favour of this desire being gratified, and though the white inhabitants were so few the imperial

authorities resolved to grant them a considerable measure of self government.

On the 15th of July 1856 a charter was issued at Westminster raising Natal to the rank of a separate colony, with a governor appointed by the crown. There was to be a legislative council of sixteen members, of whom four were to be officials, two elected by each of the counties of Pietermaritzburg and Klip River, two elected by each of the boroughs of Pietermaritzburg and Durban, and one elected by each of the counties of Weenen, Umvoti, Durban, and Victoria. The members were to hold their seats for four years, and the council was to meet at least once yearly, the governor having power to summon, prorogue, or adjourn it. Six members were to form a quorum, and the speaker was to have only a casting vote. Acts passed by the council could be vetoed at any time within two years after their receipt in England.

The electors were to be over twenty-one years of age, and to possess fixed property to the value of £50 or be tenants of property with a yearly rental of £10; but foreigners not naturalised and persons convicted of crime were not to be entitled to the franchise. The voting was to be by ballot. Every year the fieldcornets were to make a register of the qualified voters in their wards, adding to or obliterating from the register of the preceding year, as might be necessary.

There was a reserved civil list, placing certain amounts beyond the control of the council, but it was very small. It provided for the governor £1,200 a year, for the colonial secretary £700, for the treasurer, attorney-general, and surveyor-general, each £450, for the secretary for native affairs £500, and for the benefit of the natives £5,000.

The first step to be taken under the charter was to define the boundaries of the electoral districts, and these were fixed by proclamation on the 14th of November. The elections then took place, and on the 23rd of March 1857 the legislative council met for the first time in the

government schoolroom at Maritzburg. There were present the four members appointed by the crown, namely the colonial secretary, Mr. William C. Sargeaunt, who had held that office since June 1853, the treasurer, Mr. P. Allen, the attorney-general, Mr. Walter Harding, the secretary for native affairs, Mr. Theophilus Shepstone, and the twelve elected members: Messrs. James Arbuthnot and John Moreland, representing the county of Maritzburg, Messrs. Humphrey Evans Knight and James Jenkins Gregory, representing the county of Klip River, Messrs. Jonas Bergtheil and Joseph Henderson, representing the borough of Maritzburg, Messrs. John Millar and Donald Moodie, representing the borough of Durban, Mr. Walter Macfarlane, representing the county of Weenen, Mr. Eric Landsberg, representing the county of Umvoti, Mr. James Kinghurst, representing the county of Durban, and Mr. Charles Johnston, representing the county of Victoria. Mr. Donald Moodie, who had ceased to be secretary to government on the 1st of October 1852, was elected speaker.

And so Natal, with only the population of an English village, but full of life and vigour, entered upon its career as a distinct member of the British empire.

CHAPTER XLV.

CREATION OF THE ORANGE RIVER SOVEREIGNTY.

As soon as matters on the eastern frontier of the Cape Colony and in British Kaffraria had been arranged, Sir Harry Smith proceeded to the country beyond the Orange river. He went in the firm belief that his popularity would be sufficient to bring back the emigrant farmers to allegiance to the British crown, and that he would easily be able to establish a government that would satisfy them. In this he was mistaken. Twelve years of wandering and suffering had produced such a change in these people that they could no longer be dealt with like the men he had formerly known and respected.

Attributing their losses and hardships to the action of the imperial government and the London missionary society, their antipathy to English rule had become so deep that willingly but few of them could ever be brought to submit to it again. In those twelve years many hundreds of children had grown into men and women. Education from books they had almost none, but they had been taught self-reliance as few people have ever learned the lesson.

They believed that England was a country of enormous power, which its government used to oppress weak communities such as theirs. Of its history and even its geographical position they were utterly ignorant. They had an idea that the English ministry and the directors of the London missionary society, whom they confounded with the government, never inquired whether an act was in itself wrong or right, but whether its perpetrators were civilised men or savages, and always gave judgment in favour of the

last. They scouted the very notion that absolute justice between man and man was the guiding principle of English rule. Emphatically, positively, they denied that it was, or could be as long as such prejudices as those they had experienced remained in existence. "All for the black, nothing for the white" was the principle which they affirmed guided English legislation. As in every community, the opinions of some individuals were stronger than those of others, but that sentiments such as these were prevalent among the great majority of the emigrant farmers north of the Modder river is unquestionable. They are found recorded in the accounts of every writer who visited them, as well as in their correspondence with government officials and their friends in the colony.

The young men were as familiar with the use of firearms as any Kentucky backwoodsman could have been, and were ready with their weapons in hand to plunge farther into the interior. There was another element of the population still more hostile and much less worthy. A considerable number of Europeans of a low type of character had of late years been resorting to the country north of the Orange. Some of these men were fugitives from their creditors, others were deserters from the army, a few were even escaped criminals. The influence of such persons upon a simple and credulous people like the emigrant farmers was all for evil. They were ready for any deed, however desperate or wicked, or any enterprise, however daring. They were under little or no restraint, for there were no police. Assuming various characters, they fostered the prejudices of the farmers, and traded upon their antipathies. Twelve years earlier a man like the new governor might have secured the allegiance of the emigrants to the British crown, and by enlisting the sympathy of the great majority in favour of order, have been able to curb the turbulent; but it was now too late.

Sir Harry Smith came to South Africa with a fully matured plan for the settlement of affairs north of the

Orange. He would take no land from black people that they needed for their maintenance, but there were no longer to be black states covering vast areas of ground either unoccupied or in possession of white men. Such ground he would form into a new colony, and he would exercise a general control over the chiefs themselves in the interests of peace and civilisation. A system antagonistic to that of the Napier treaties was to be introduced. Those treaties, founded indeed on benevolent intentions, but utterly impracticable, attempted to subject civilised men to barbarians. He would place an enlightened and benevolent government over all. But to enable him to do so, the consent of Adam Kok and Moshesh must be obtained to new agreements, for he could not take the high-handed course of setting aside the existing treaties, which had been confirmed by the queen.

The governor therefore proceeded first to Bloemfontein, where Adam Kok was invited to meet him. On the 24th of January 1848 the conference took place. The Griqua captain talked of his rights as an independent sovereign in alliance with the queen of England, and assumed altogether a tone of such ridiculous self-importance that Sir Harry Smith's temper failed him and he threatened to have Kok tied up to a beam in the room in which they were sitting unless he acted reasonably. The captain then consented to an arrangement that in lieu of half the quitrents due to him under the treaty of the 5th of February 1846, he should be paid a fixed sum of £200 a year; that his people should be paid £100 a year for the lands they had let north of the Riet river; that the Griqua reserve should be cleared of all Europeans as their leases expired, upon payment to them of the cost of any improvements they had made, at a valuation by the British resident, Adam Kok's secretary, and one emigrant; and that the above-named sum of £300 a year should be paid in perpetuity for the farms leased in the alienable territory, which leases should also be in perpetuity for this consideration.

On the day following, 25th of January 1848, an agreement to this effect was signed, which was construed to mean that Adam Kok, in consideration of £200 a year for himself and £100 a year for distribution among certain of his followers, ceded his claim to jurisdiction over all the land outside of the Griqua reserve. Individual Griquas retained their property wherever it was, and were entitled to make use of ground held by them anywhere. They could sell or lease farms in their possession anywhere except in the reserve, the only right which they lost being that of reclaiming farms already leased north of the Riet river, for which they were to receive the compensation in money already mentioned. Purchases by Europeans of land within the reserve, it will be remembered, had been converted by Sir Peregrine Maitland into leases for forty years, so that the principle acted upon was not new. The British resident estimated that the reserve was large enough for twenty times the whole Griqua people.

At Bloemfontein the governor received addresses of welcome from the farmers of Oberholster's party along the Riet and Modder rivers and from Snyman's party along the lower Caledon. As many heads of families as could do so repaired to the village to meet him. Among them were some who had served under him in the Kaffir war of 1334-5. At a public meeting speeches were made in which old times were recalled and enthusiastic language was used concerning the future of South Africa now that a true friend of the country was at the head of affairs. At this meeting the governor observed an aged grey-headed man standing in the crowd. He instantly rose, handed his chair to the old man, and pressed him to be seated, a kindly act that was long remembered by the simple farmers, and which formed the subject of one of the transparencies when Capetown was illuminated on his return to the seat of government.

From Bloemfontein the governor, attended only by his nephew Major Garvock, Commandant Gideon Joubert, and Mr. Richard Southey, went on to Winburg, where, on the

27th of January, he had a conference with Moshesh. The chief, with his sons and the reverend Mr. Casalis, who had reached the village the evening before, rode out to meet him as he approached. An hour after his arrival the formal conference took place. There were present, Sir Harry Smith, his private secretary Mr. Southey, the chief Moshesh with some of his sons, brothers, and councillors, and Mr. Casalis, who interpreted.

The governor hastily explained that the object he wished to secure was a permanent condition of peace, harmony, and tranquillity. He intended, therefore, to proclaim the sovereignty of the queen over all the country in which the emigrant farmers were residing, and to establish magistracies, churches, and schools wherever they were settled. With the internal government of the coloured tribes or their laws and customs he had no intention of interfering, but on the contrary desired to preserve the hereditary rights of the chiefs and to prevent encroachment upon their lands. The quitrents would be required to meet the expenses of government, therefore Sir Peregrine Maitland's plan to pay half the amount to the chief could not be carried out, but this loss would be made good by annual presents.

Moshesh admitted the advantage of a paramount power in the country, and approved of the establishment of governmental machinery among the European immigrants. As to the quitrents he would say nothing, as he did not wish money questions to stand in the way of an arrangement. But he desired that no portion of the country which he claimed should be entirely cut off from his people, so that no one should be able to say to him thereafter "this land is no longer yours." He asked what arrangement would be made where a farmer was found living near a Basuto kraal.

The governor replied that he must continue to live there. But he was in such haste that he was unwilling to enter into details of his plan, nor would he discuss the disputed questions between Moshesh and the other chiefs.

At this conference Sir Harry Smith professed the warmest regard for Moshesh, and used the most complimentary and flattering language in addressing him. In the afternoon of the same day the governor, holding the Basuto chief by the hand, introduced him to the farmers assembled at Winburg as the man to whom they were indebted for the peace they had hitherto enjoyed.

Moshesh readily affixed his mark to a document in agreement with the governor's proposals. That he comprehended what these proposals would lead to is, however, doubtful, as he could hardly have grasped the import of all he heard that morning. Sir Harry Smith's eccentricities were displayed in such a way that the chief's attention must have been a good deal distracted. At one moment he was pretending to snore to indicate the state of peace that would follow the adoption of his measures, at another he was illustrating the condition to which the Xosas were reduced by browbeating a Kaffir from the eastern colonial frontier, and again he was bathed in tears and speechless with emotion when laying the foundation stone of a church. While cantering into the village with the chief at his side he ordered presents to be made to him of two new saddles, a marquee tent, and a gold watch.

At Winburg twenty-seven heads of families and twenty-two others presented an address in which they requested the governor to extend British jurisdiction over the country. The great majority of the inhabitants of the district had no opportunity of seeing him or of making known their opinions, as he passed through in such haste. He had been informed that the entire Dutch population of Natal was moving out of that colony, and he was anxious to reach them before they could carry their purpose into effect. He therefore sent an express to Mr. Pretorius, asking him to delay the emigration, and at dawn on the morning of the 28th of January he was in the saddle, hastening towards Natal.

He was well received by the farmers who were moving towards the interior, and remained several days in their

camp at the foot of the Drakensberg, as the Tugela was flooded and he could not proceed to Maritzburg. On one occasion, when speaking with Mr. Pretorius, he took out of his pocket a draft of a proclamation declaring the queen's sovereignty over the whole of the country occupied by the emigrants, which had been drawn up before he left Cape-town. Mr. Pretorius remonstrated against its publication, and said if it was issued they would be obliged either to fight for freedom or to retire far into the interior, for under British rule they could not live. The governor replied that he believed the majority of the farmers were in his favour. Mr. Pretorius said his Excellency was deceived in that respect. It was then arranged that Mr. Pretorius should proceed across the mountains, attend public meetings at every centre of population, and ascertain the views of the people. With this object he started without any delay, leaving the governor in the camp.

To this point all the relations of these conferences agree, but now comes a great discrepancy. Mr. Pretorius, in an account of events some time before and after this date which he drew up on the 5th of February 1852 for the assistant commissioners Hogg and Owen, affirmed that the governor promised before he left that the proclamation would not be issued if a majority of the emigrants should be found opposed to it. His correspondence during 1848, including that with the governor himself, contains frequent references to such a promise. Sir Harry Smith, in his despatches and memoranda, states that Mr. Pretorius was quite willing that the country south of the Vaal should be proclaimed under British sovereignty, but it was agreed between them that the territory north of that river was not to be so proclaimed unless a majority of the emigrants should be found to favour the measure. And in accordance with this arrangement the wording of the proclamation as originally drawn up was altered, so as to leave the Transvaal emigrants undisturbed. There must have been a misunderstanding by Mr. Pretorius, or a confusion of the

Modder river with the Vaal by the governor, as there is no other way of accounting for the discrepancy in the statements.

On the 3rd of February 1848 Sir Harry Smith issued from the emigrant camp on the bank of the Tugela a proclamation in which the sovereignty of her Majesty the queen of England was declared over the whole country between the Orange and the Vaal eastward to the Kathlamba mountains.

In this proclamation the objects are stated to be the protection and preservation of the just and hereditary rights of the native chiefs and the rule and welfare of the European settlers. Under it, disputes as to territory between the chiefs and all matters affecting the peace and harmony of South Africa were to be settled by the paramount authority, but there was to be no interference with the internal government of the clans. The Europeans and such blacks as chose to live with them were to be brought under the jurisdiction of magistrates, and they alone were to provide the means of carrying on the government.

In issuing this proclamation Sir Harry Smith was full of confidence in his personal influence with the emigrants. When Major Warden, the British resident, expressed an opinion that if the queen's authority was proclaimed north of the Orange river, additional troops would be requisite, his Excellency replied, "My dear fellow, pray bear in mind that the boers are my children, and I will have none other here for my soldiers; your detachment will march for the colony immediately." And in this confidence a garrison of only fifty or sixty Cape mounted riflemen was left to defend a territory more than fifty thousand square miles in extent.

Mr. Pretorius proceeded to Winburg, and thence to Ohrigstad, holding meetings, and ascertaining that the majority of the people were opposed to British rule. He then returned, and found that the proclamation had been issued some time. But as it extended the queen's sovereignty only to the Vaal, by crossing that river the farmers could

escape its operation. Large numbers were moving northward. Mr. Pretorius joined them, and fixed his residence at Magalisberg. The governor appointed him a member of the land commission of Natal, but he declined to accept the office. From this date Major Warden's reports contain frequent charges against him of endeavouring to keep up the agitation of the emigrants.

On the 8th of March Sir Harry Smith proclaimed a form of government for the Orange River Sovereignty, as the country between the Vaal and Orange rivers and the Drakensberg was henceforth termed. The British resident, in the absence of the high commissioner, was to be the chief authority and president of all boards or commissions. Bloemfontein was to be the seat of government. A civil commissioner and resident magistrate was to be stationed at Winburg, and one in the neighbourhood of the lower Caledon. Persons charged with the commission of crimes of magnitude were to be sent to Colesberg for trial before a judge of the Cape Colony. There was to be a land commission for each district, consisting of the civil commissioner, two surveyors, and one burgher elected by the people. The first duty of the land commissions was to be the division of the Sovereignty into three districts, to be called Bloemfontein, Caledon River, and Winburg. Commandants and fieldcornets were to be elected by the people. The land commissions were to inspect and register each farm, fix quitrents from £2 to £8 per annum, and then to issue certificates, which were to be valid as titles. They were to have the final decision of complaints concerning land outside the reserves. The farms were to be held under military tenure. Every able-bodied man was to turn out in defence of the queen and her allies, whenever called upon to do so. The coloured people in the reserves were to be dealt with only through the chiefs.

The governor estimated that the revenue from quitrents and licenses would be from £5,000 to £10,000 a year. The cost of government he put down at £4,464. The balance he

proposed to apply to the maintenance of churches and schools.

The imperial authorities reluctantly approved of these proclamations. They gave their consent to the addition of the country between the Orange and the Vaal to the British dominions, not in any grasping or selfish spirit, but with the benevolent design of preventing disorder and bloodshed. The step was approved of in the sincere belief that the black people required protection from the Europeans and would therefore welcome English rule, and that the better disposed farmers, being in a condition of anarchy and extreme poverty, would gladly submit to a settled government, which was not intended to prevent them from regulating most of their affairs in any manner that suited them.

On the 8th of March Mr. Thomas Jervis Biddulph was appointed civil commissioner and resident magistrate of Winburg, and on the 22nd of the same month Mr. James O'Reilly received a similar appointment to the district of Caledon River. The British resident, in addition to his other duties, was required to act as civil commissioner and resident magistrate of the district of Bloemfontein.

The annunciation of British authority over the district of Winburg, which for ten years had been part of an independent republic, was immediately followed by such excitement among the farmers that Sir Harry Smith deemed it necessary to issue a manifesto against agitators. On the 29th of March he published a long and strangely worded notice, partly historical, partly descriptive, remonstrating, advising, appealing, and threatening by turns, and ending by proposing a common prayer to God. The issue of this manifesto drew forth several addresses from the farmers in the Sovereignty. In one with three hundred and sixty-nine signatures, and another with one hundred and eighty-nine, a desire to be independent was expressed. In a third, Commandant J. T. Snyman and one hundred and eighty-one others assured his Excellency of their unfeigned allegiance and attachment to the queen. Subsequent events showed

that these numbers correctly represented the proportion of those who were opposed to or in favour of British rule.

Beyond the Vaal there was much sympathy with the disaffected party in the Sovereignty, and particularly with the burghers of Winburg, who were regarded as fellow-citizens of a common republic. On the 15th of May a meeting was held at Potchefstroom, when resolutions were passed deprecating the threatening language in the high commissioner's manifesto. These resolutions were communicated to his Excellency in a letter signed by Messrs. Hendrik Potgieter, A. W. Pretorius, G. J. Kruger, J. H. L. Kock, L. R. Botha, J. P. Delport, A. F. Spies, H. Steyn, and seven others of less note.

On the 22nd of May Mr. Biddulph arrived at Winburg with Major Warden, by whom he was installed as civil commissioner and resident magistrate. A few days later a meeting of the republican party took place at a farm in the neighbourhood, when it was resolved not to submit without a struggle. Landdrost Willem Jacobs, the heemraden, the fieldcornet, and Commandants Bester and Bezuidenhout then notified in writing that they would not acknowledge Mr. Biddulph. The disaffected inhabitants of the district sent to Mr. Pretorius to inform him that they were resolved to take up arms in vindication of their right to independence, and besought him to come and assist them. He had already been appointed commandant-general by the burghers along both banks of the Vaal. Willem Jacobs, who went to Magalisberg on this mission, found Mr. Pretorius in trouble, for his wife, of whom he was tenderly fond, was lying so ill that recovery was hopeless. Dying as she was, this noble-minded South African woman advised her husband to do what she held to be his duty. "By staying here," she said, "you cannot save my life; your countrymen need your services, go and help them." He went, and never saw her again, for she died before his return.

On the 21st of June Mr. Biddulph was informed that if he remained longer at Winburg he would be arrested, so he

retired to Bloemfontein, but was immediately sent back by Major Warden. Two surveyors, Messrs. Frederick Rex and Robert Moffat, had in the meantime been appointed to the Winburg land commission, but on the 11th of July Mr. Biddulph reported that the condition of the district was such that the commission could not proceed with its duties. He had just received intimation that Mr. Pretorius with an armed party was encamped on the False river. This intimation had been written in pencil by a deserter from the 45th regiment named Michael Quigley, on the back of a free pardon which had been sent to him; and it was brought to Winburg by one of his comrades. Quigley had intended to proceed to the Mooi river to inform a party of deserters there that the governor offered them pardon on condition of their return to their colours, but on the way he was pressed into the emigrant commando.

On the 12th of July Commandant-General Pretorius arrived at Winburg. There he published a notice that no person would be allowed to remain neutral, and that all who would not join in "the war of freedom" must cross the Orange before the 20th of the month. The small party at Winburg who were well affected towards the British government, among whom were Messrs. Gerrit Hendrik Meyer, Johannes I. J. Fick, the members of the Wessels family, and a few others, went into lager and defied Pretorius. Commandant J. T. Snyman and his party on the lower Caledon, and Michiel Oberholster and his party on the Modder river, did the same.

Mr. Biddulph made his escape from Winburg just before the commando entered the village. He rode as fast as he could towards Bloemfontein, and on the morning of the 13th met Major Warden about six miles from the residency engaged in giving out land certificates. The major had an escort of twelve mounted riflemen with him. It was resolved at once to proceed to Bloemfontein to send a report to the governor, and then to commence throwing up earthworks for defence. The major and Mr. Biddulph were riding a few

hundred yards ahead of the escort when they encountered a burgher patrol of twenty-five men, who endeavoured to make prisoners of them. It was only the speed of their horses and the firm stand made by the escort that saved them. The burghers came within talking distance, and informed Major Warden that their object was to take him to Commandant-General Pretorius' camp that he might see the strength of the emigrants and report to the governor that they were united and determined not to submit to British rule. The major promised to send Mr. Frederick Rex to see and report.

The clerk Mr. Isaac Dyason, some relatives of Mr. Biddulph who lived with him, and the two constables were in Winburg when the emigrant commando entered the village. Most of their property was seized and confiscated, but they were allowed to leave in safety, and reached Bloemfontein early on the morning of the 16th.

On the 17th of July Commandant-General Pretorius formed a camp within two miles of Bloemfontein, and with four hundred men rode to the outskirts of the village. He then sent a letter to Major Warden giving him one hour to consider whether he would surrender the country or have it taken from him by force. For the previous three days the troops had been employed endeavouring to make their camp defensible, but the work was not half completed. The major had two cannon, and the force under his command consisted of forty-five trained Hottentot soldiers of the Cape mounted rifles and twelve raw recruits. There were also in Bloemfontein forty-two civilians capable of bearing arms and about two hundred women and children. Mr. Rex, who had been two days with the emigrant commando, reported that it consisted of a thousand men.

Under these circumstances Major Warden requested an interview with Mr. Pretorius half way between his camp and Bloemfontein. This was conceded, and after a brief parley conditions of capitulation were agreed to, under which the troops and inhabitants were permitted to retire to the Cape

Colony with all their movable property, public and private, and waggons were furnished by Mr. Pretorius to take them to Colesberg.

On the 20th the commando entered Bloemfontein. Next day a long manifesto was drawn up and signed by the commandants, fieldcornets, and about nine hundred others. It was addressed to Sir Harry Smith. Its burden was British partiality for the blacks, which made life and property insecure in a British colony. To barbarians, it declared, freedom and the right to live under their own laws were conceded, but for white men there was nothing but coercion and oppression. As the high commissioner had stated that if a majority of the inhabitants were averse to her Majesty's sovereignty he would not proclaim it, it was hoped that the events which had taken place would prove to him what the opinions of the people were.

From Bloemfontein the burgher commando marched to Middelvlei, on the north bank of the Orange, and within easy communication from Colesberg. There a temporary camp was formed. The British resident, with the troops and civilians from Bloemfontein, was on the colonial bank of the river, as he had not cared to go on to the village.

On the 22nd of July Major Warden's report of the 13th reached Capetown. The energetic governor immediately issued orders for all the available troops in the colony to march to Colesberg. That afternoon he published a proclamation offering a reward of £1,000 for the apprehension of Pretorius or for such information as would lead to his apprehension. This was shortly followed by an offer of £500 for the apprehension of Willem Jacobs or for information that would lead to his apprehension. The governor then hurriedly made the necessary arrangements, and left for Colesberg to take command of the troops in person.

On the 10th of August Messrs. A. W. Pretorius, G. J. Kruger, A. F. Spies, L. R. Botha, P. M. Bester, and four other

commandants, from the camp at Middelvlei wrote to Major Warden on the opposite bank of the Orange that as it must now be evident that the emigrants were united in opposition to British authority, Sir Harry Smith ought not to trouble them further. They inquired whether the governor was there, and if so, whether they could see and speak to him. This letter was referred to his Excellency, who had arrived at Colesberg on the preceding day, and who replied on the 14th, terming the emigrants rebels, but stating that Messrs. Gerrit Kruger and Paul Bester could cross on the following day to Major Warden's camp, where he would speak to them. Commandant-General Pretorius answered the same evening that as the governor persisted in calling them rebels they would not cross the river. On the 16th he again wrote to Sir Harry Smith, "requesting for the last time that the governor would withdraw the proclamation of sovereignty," but to this letter he received no reply.

During the early part of the month heavy rains had fallen in the mountains of the Lesuto, and consequently the Orange was in flood. Five years previous to this date an enterprising Scotchman named Norval had placed a pontoon on the river some distance higher up, but as the governor had brought two india-rubber floats with him, there was no necessity to march out of the way to reach it. The floats were put upon the river, and on the 22nd of August the troops began to cross. The farmers did not attempt to dispute the passage. Five days were occupied in the transit, and on the afternoon of the 26th, the soldiers, horses, guns, waggons, and stores were on the northern bank. Forty men of the 91st and twenty Cape mounted riflemen were left at the ford on the colonial side of the river to keep the communication open.

Sir Harry Smith then found himself at the head of an effective force of about eight hundred men, consisting of the late garrison of Bloemfontein and four fresh companies of the Cape mounted rifles minus the twenty men left at the ford, two companies each of the rifle brigade and 45th

regiment, two companies of the 91st regiment minus forty men, a few engineers, and some artillerymen with three six-pounders. He had with him a considerable commissariat train, under direction of Mr. Henry Green, who was destined in later years to fill the office of British resident. Within two days after crossing the river the column was joined by a few farmers under the commandants Pieter Erasmus and J. T. Snyman, and by about two hundred and fifty Griquas under Andries Waterboer and Adam Kok. The farmers were those whose lands had been confiscated, and who had been driven from their homes for refusing to join the commando under Mr. Pretorius. The Griquas were mounted and provided with firearms, and varied in appearance from the pure savage in a sheepskin kaross to the half-breed in plumed hat and European costume.

Before the troops crossed the river, the emigrant commando fell back towards Bloemfontein. A rumour had reached the farmers that another army was coming up from Natal to place them between two fires, and they were undecided how to act. There was much discord in the camp. Many professed that they had no intention to fight. They had joined the commando, they said, merely as a demonstration to convince the governor that the great majority of the people were opposed to English rule. Others were determined to hazard everything on the issue of an engagement, and had chosen a strong position on the road to Bloemfontein as a fitting place to make a stand.

Sir Harry Smith, who believed that the rising was entirely due to Mr. Pretorius, addressed letters of remonstrance and warning to the different commandants, and sent them to the emigrant camp, hoping thereby to break it up. Mr. Halse, who was his Excellency's messenger, was received with respect and was treated in a friendly manner. But Mr. Pretorius had the tact to put the question to the whole of the burghers whether letters from the governor, not addressed to himself, ought to be received by any one in the camp. The burghers decided that they should not, and

Mr. Halse was obliged to take them back unopened. The emigrant commando was then already some distance from the Orange. Mr. Halse computed its strength to be between six hundred and eight hundred men.

On the 27th the troops marched from the Orange river to Philippolis, and on the 28th from Philippolis to Visser's Hoek. The country they passed through was completely abandoned by its inhabitants. That evening some of the farmers with Sir Harry Smith were sent out as scouts. A little after midnight they returned and reported that they had examined the country as far as Boomplaats, some fifteen miles ahead, without meeting any one.

At dawn on the morning of the 29th the column moved forward. At this season the sun at mid-day is still low in the heavens, and the temperature on the highlands of South Africa is such as Europeans most enjoy. That day there was not a cloud in the sky, but the dry rarified air until nearly noon was clear and bracing, and had its ordinary effect of giving vigour and buoyancy of spirits to those who breathed it.

The troops halted at Touwfontein, the old camping place of Sir Peregrine Maitland, to rest and take their morning meal. This over, they resumed the march. In front rode the Cape corps, European officers and Hottentot soldiers, in dark green uniforms, with carbines slung at their sides. Following these were the men of the rifle brigade. Next came the sappers and miners and the artillerymen with their three guns, then the 45th, and last the 91st. Behind was a long train of waggons laden with baggage, stores, and ammunition, and guarded by the farmers and the Griquas, who rode in the rear and on the flanks. In this order the column moved at infantry pace over the open plain which stretches to within a few hundred yards of the Kromme-Elleboog river.

There the features of the country changed. Close to the right side of the road, and parallel with it, was a chain of hills scantily covered with vegetation, but thickly strewn

with boulders. Some distance in front this chain turned off almost at a right angle, and ran away to the left. Beyond it was the Kromme-Elleboog river, a succession of deep pools with reedy banks and here and there a ford. Then came another chain of hills between the river just named and a feeder called Middel Water, which joined it farther down. In a valley in the fork thus formed, and just below the road, was the farmhouse of Boomplaats. On the far side rose a third chain of hills higher than the others, through a neck or pass in which the road opened upon a plain beyond.

In the morning march a solitary native shepherd was met, who informed Sir Harry that the burgher commando had passed the night at Boomplaats. As the column drew near, the governor directed Lieutenant Warren of the Cape corps to take a couple of men with him and ride up the first hill to reconnoitre. In a few moments the officer came galloping back, and reported that he had seen the farmers in considerable force beyond the nearest range.

Lieutenant Salis, with a troop of the Cape corps, was then instructed to ride on some distance in front of the main column. A minute or two later the governor put spurs to his horse, and, followed by his staff, joined the advance guard. He was the most conspicuous individual in the group. Up to this moment, he was confident that no European in South Africa would point a weapon against his person. In this confidence he had dressed himself that morning in blue jacket, white cord trousers, and drab felt hat, the same clothing which he had worn when he met Mr. Pretorius in the emigrant camp on the Tugela seven months before. He was exceedingly anxious to avoid a collision, for the home government had sanctioned his proclamation of sovereignty on the strength of his assurances that nearly the whole of the people were in favour of it, and a conflict would prove that he had been too hasty in forming a judgment. His wish was to have a parley with the emigrant leaders. The soldiers, on the other hand, were full of ardour, and

freely expressed a hope that they were not to undergo such a long and wearisome march without a chance of showing their fighting qualities.

It wanted an hour to noon when Lieutenant Salis' troop, with Sir Harry and his staff, came abreast of the second hill on their right, which was not farther than sixty yards from the road. By the governor's order the soldiers had taken the caps from the nipples of their carbines, so that they could not be the first to fire. Some one exclaimed "There they are!" and, as if by magic, the crest appeared covered with men. While the Cape corps had been advancing along the road, the farmers on the extreme left of the emigrant line had crept up the back of the hill, leaving their horses saddled at the foot. For an instant there was a flash of fire, and then a shower of bullets fell among and around the little party. The smoke had not cleared away when another volley followed, but by this time the soldiers were galloping back to their comrades, and the governor was hastening to the head of the column. A rifle ball had grazed the face of his horse, and one of his stirrup leathers was half cut through by another.

Three Hottentot soldiers were lying motionless in the road. On the ground beside his dead horse sat Lieutenant Salis, with his left arm shattered and a wound in his body. Two farmers came near, and he heard one say in Dutch, "Shoot him!" He called out quickly, "You must not, for I have a wife and children." The voice came again, "Are you wounded?" "Yes," was his reply. He was then allowed without molestation to crawl back, and was carried to a hospital tent in the rear.

The governor, after relieving his feelings by a few hearty oaths, gave orders with as much coolness as if at a review. The guns were brought up and placed in position, and, under direction of Lieutenant Dynely of the royal artillery, a heavy fire was opened from them. The farmers dispersed behind the boulders, and then the rifle brigade and the 45th were ordered to charge. Captain Murray of the rifles was leading

on his men when he received three severe wounds. He was carried to the rear, and all that was possible was done to save him, but he died that night. Under a storm of bullets the soldiers made their way to the top of the hill, leaving many of their comrades dead and wounded on the slope. Before the summit was gained the farmers retired. They fell back towards the centre of their line, and prepared to make another stand at the next hill.

Meantime the right wing of the emigrant force, under Commandant Jan Kock, emerged from behind a ridge on the left of the English front, and dashed into the plain. The object was to get possession of the waggons and supplies. Against this division of the farmers, which was not very strong, the Cape corps was sent, and after some sharp fighting Kock was forced to retire. His men were compelled to cross the range of the artillery in order to rejoin the main body of the burgher commando, and in doing so they suffered some loss. The exact number it is impossible to give.

The 91st, previously kept as a reserve with the guns, were now sent to assist the rifle brigade and 45th in dislodging the farmers from the remaining fastnesses along the road. The artillery was moved forward, and the governor himself, as commander-in-chief, selected the positions from which its fire could be best directed. Colonel Buller, the second in command, had been wounded. The emigrants had only one field-piece, a brass three-pounder, which was so placed as to throw its shot along the line of road. But it was badly served, and did little or no execution. In the same manner as the first hill had been carried, each successive position was stormed, the farmers, when driven from one, retiring to the next. At the river the resistance was not very obstinate, but a stone cattle kraal belonging to the farmstead of Boomplaats was taken with difficulty.

Driven from this, the farmers made a last stand on the slopes commanding the neck in the high ridge beyond. There they were attacked first by the Cape corps and the Griquas, who, being mounted, could follow rapidly. These

were beaten back with ease. The infantry was then brought up, and the whole force stormed the heights, when the farmers were dislodged, and immediately fled over the plain to the eastward.

Sir Harry Smith, who had grown old fighting in the Spanish peninsula, in Kaffirland, and in India, in his next despatch to the secretary of state described the battle of Boomplaats as "one of the most severe skirmishes that had ever, he believed, been witnessed." There were no cowards on either side in that engagement.

It was two in the afternoon when the neck was gained by the troops. The men and horses required rest, for they had been marching and fighting with but one short interval since early dawn. Towards evening they followed up the line of the emigrants' retreat some seven or eight miles, and halted at Kalverfontein for the night.

Mr. Pretorius and the commandants who were engaged at Boomplaats afterwards asserted that their plans were frustrated by the action of the party on their extreme left who fired upon the governor's advance guard. Their intention was to wait until the whole column of troops was under rifle range from the steep hills beside the road, and the first shots were fired against positive orders. After that they did the best they could at every defensible position. But there was no discipline observable anywhere, except in the right wing under Commandant Jan Kock, who attempted to seize the commissariat train.

The number of emigrants engaged is variously estimated. Commandant-General Pretorius, in letters written a few weeks before the battle, claimed to have a thousand men under his orders. But from the time they left the Orange their numbers were constantly dwindling away. Mr. Halse and those who were with him computed their strength a few days later at eight hundred at the very highest. When it was decided to make a stand at Boomplaats some of these withdrew, but exactly how many is an open question. At the time of the battle a portion of the commando was in a

camp several miles distant. There was no muster roll, and the statements of those who were engaged along a line a mile in length vary greatly, as might be supposed. There were probably over five hundred emigrants in the engagement, and it may be taken for certain that there were not seven hundred and fifty.

The loss on the English side was, in killed, two officers—Captain Arthur Stormont Murray of the rifle brigade and Ensign M. Babbington Steele of the Cape mounted rifles,—six men of the rifle brigade, five of the Cape mounted rifles, three of the 45th regiment, and six Griquas. Besides these five officers and thirty-three rank and file were wounded so severely as to necessitate their remaining in hospital. A considerable number also were wounded slightly, but were able to move on with the column.

Among these last was Mr. Biddulph, magistrate of Winburg, one of whose arms was badly hurt as he was climbing a hill with the rifle brigade. Several other civilians were conspicuous by their bravery in the action. The farmers who joined the troops at the Orange were not called upon to fight against their countrymen, but remained with the waggons.

The governor reported that forty-nine bodies of burghers were counted on the field of battle, twelve having been killed by one cannon shot. But this was afterwards known to be incorrect, and it was from the first denied by the farmers, who gave their casualties as nine killed and five wounded. They were all sharpshooters, and were not exposed as the soldiers were, which accounts for the disparity in loss.

The day following the engagement, the governor and the troops pushed on to Bethany, a station on the Riet river, founded for the benefit of the Koranas in December 1835 by agents of the Berlin missionary society. During the march the Griqua scouts captured two stragglers who had taken part at Boomplaats on the emigrant side. One of these was the deserter Michael Quigley, who has been

mentioned as having sent to Mr. Biddulph intelligence of the movements of Mr. Pretorius. The other was a young man named Thomas Dreyer, a member of an emigrant family. On the 2nd of September the column reached Bloemfontein. There Dreyer and Quigley were brought before a court-martial, and were sentenced to death, which sentence was carried out on the morning of the 4th.

The execution of young Dreyer was probably regretted by the governor himself in calmer moments, though he stated that he believed it struck such terror into the republicans as to prevent them making another stand at Winburg. By the emigrants it has always been regarded as more unjustifiable than the execution of Tambusa in January 1840. In their estimation one was a Christian patriot, the other a bloodstained murderer. Mr. Pretorius was blamed by many for not having kept Major Warden and some of the inhabitants of Bloemfontein as hostages, so as to prevent an act of this kind; but he affirmed that he made no provision for such an event because he had not believed it possible.

Just after reaching Bloemfontein on the 2nd, Sir Harry Smith issued a proclamation confiscating the property of those who had been in arms. All who had aided them were to be fined by commissions which he announced that it was his intention to appoint. A reward of £2,000 was offered for the apprehension of Commandant-General Pretorius, and £500 each for the apprehension of Andries Spies, Jan Krynauw, and Louw Pretorius. The farms of Jan Krynauw, Louw Pretorius, Frederik Otto, Jan Jacobs, Philip van Coller, Jan Viljoen, and Adriaan Stander were declared forfeited. And the following fines were announced: Ocker Jacobus van Schalkwyk £200, Pieter Louw and Jan Botes each £150, Christoffel Snyman £100, and Roelof Grobbelaar £50.

From Bloemfontein the high commissioner and the troops moved on to Winburg, and reached that village on the 7th of September. It was anticipated that the republican

party would have made another stand at this place, but no opposition whatever was encountered. Here the first act was to reproclaim the queen's sovereignty over the whole country between the Orange and the Vaal, which was accompanied by a salute of twenty-one guns. This was followed by another proclamation, dividing the Sovereignty into the four districts of Bloemfontein, Caledon River, Winburg, and Vaal River. The new district of Vaal River was to comprise the country between the Sand and Vaal rivers and the Drakensberg, previously part of Winburg. The governor announced that a strong fort would be built at Bloemfontein and a large garrison would be stationed there.

At Winburg one of the commandants, named Paul Bester, who had taken part with Mr. Pretorius, surrendered and expressed contrition for what he had done. Upon this he was merely required to pay £22 10s. towards the war expenses, and was then received into the high commissioner's favour. It was announced that all who had taken up arms against the British government were banished from the district of Winburg, except Paul Bester and Gerrit Kruger. A reward of £1,000 each was offered for the apprehension of Willem Jacobs and Andries Spies, and £500 each for the apprehension of Adriaan Stander and Frederik Bezuidenhout.

The following appointments were then made:—

Thomas Whalley Vowe to be civil commissioner and resident magistrate of the district of Caledon River, in place of Mr. O'Reilly, who, at his own request, was restored to his former office of clerk of the peace at Somerset East.

Commandant Hendrik Potgieter, who had taken no part in the armed opposition to her Majesty's authority and who was highly applauded by Sir Harry Smith, to be landdrost of the district of Vaal River. Mr. Potgieter was then at Potchefstroom, and until he could arrive Messrs. Pieter Venter and Paul Bester were appointed a commission to act as landdrost.

Mr. Biddulph, civil commissioner and resident magistrate of Winburg, having been wounded, Mr. Frederick Rex was appointed to act for him until his recovery.

Mr. Richard Southey, who on the 20th of December 1847 had been appointed secretary to the high commissioner, was directed to remain in the Sovereignty for a time on confidential duty and to act as president of the commissions for fining those who had been in arms against the government and those who had aided them.

War tribute commissions. For Bloemfontein: Major Warden, Mr. Joseph Allison, Commandant Pieter Erasmus, and Mr. A. J. Erwee. For Caledon River: Mr. T. W. Vowe, Mr. Anthony O'Reilly, Commandant J. T. Snyman, and Mr. Hermanus Wessels. For Winburg: Messrs. Frederick Rex, Isaac Dyason, M. Wessels, and G. H. Meyer. For Vaal River: Mr. Pieter Venter, Mr. Paul Bester, Commandant Botha, and the secretary to the landdrost.

At the governor's invitation, Moshesh and most of the petty chiefs in the Sovereignty went to Winburg to meet him. The Basuto chief was accompanied by some hundreds of his people, all mounted on horses, animals which were unknown in the country only twenty years before. Reviews of the English troops and native war dances followed, and occupied the attention of all parties. The intercourse of the chiefs with his Excellency during several days was of the most friendly nature, but no further arrangements were made regarding the position of the coloured tribes towards each other or towards the Europeans.

Sir Harry Smith left Winburg on the 16th of September, and arrived at Smithfield * on the 18th, where he was

* That is the farm Waterfall, the property of Mr. C. S. Halse, where it was first intended that the seat of magistracy of the Caledon River district should be. The farm was then called Smithfield, in honour of Sir Harry Smith. The seat of magistracy was subsequently removed to the farm Rietpoort, where on the 1st of November 1849 the first erven of the present village of Smithfield were sold. The district, though officially known as Caledon River, soon came to be commonly called after the village the district of Smithfield.

welcomed by a large number of the inhabitants of the district. A loyal address was presented to him, and at a meeting which was held, satisfaction was expressed with the turn that affairs had taken. On the morning of the 19th his Excellency left to return to Capetown. He crossed the Orange at Buffelsvlei, where he was met by a number of farmers, at whose request he promised to have a town laid out at the place of meeting, and to give it the name Aliwal.

The war tribute commissions proceeded by inquiring into the conduct of nearly all the farmers in the Sovereignty. They levied fines, varying in amount according to the ability of the individual to pay, upon all who were found to have been implicated in resistance to the queen's authority. The total sum realised by the sale of confiscated property and by the fines levied was rather over £10,000.

A fort was built at Bloemfontein, and four iron nine-pounders were mounted upon it. A garrison was stationed there, consisting of two companies of the 45th regiment, one company of the Cape mounted rifles, and twenty-five artillerymen with three six-pounders. Major Blenkinsopp of the 45th was placed in command. The structure was named the Queen's fort.

After the battle of Boomplaats the most violent opponents of British authority moved over the Vaal. The places which they vacated were filled by fresh emigrants from the Cape Colony, many of whom, unfortunately for the country, were mere land speculators. But as all of them were well disposed towards the British government, no difficulty was thereafter experienced in preserving order, until troubles arose with the Basuto tribe, that had so imprudently been assisted to acquire power dangerous to the welfare of South Africa.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE ORANGE RIVER SOVEREIGNTY. 1848 TO 1851.

In October 1847 the synod of the Dutch reformed church, then in session in Capetown, resolved to send a commission to visit the emigrants north of the Orange. For this purpose the reverend Mr. Murray, minister of Graaff-Reinet, and the reverend Mr. Albertyn, minister of Prince Albert, with Messrs. Pienaar and De Wit, elders of Richmond and Victoria West, were appointed.

The reverend Daniel Lindley of Maritzburg had formerly held occasional services at Potchefstroom and Winburg, otherwise the emigrants had been without clerical guidance for twelve years, though lay services had constantly been kept up. Marriages had been performed before the civil courts. Baptisms had been deferred since Mr. Lindley's last tour, when over five hundred children were brought to him to be admitted by that sacrament into the Christian community.

During these years it had not been possible to have schools, and the most that parents could do for their children was to teach them to spell out with difficulty the easier passages of the bible. That was the one sole volume from which all the history, the geography, and the science known to the generation that grew up in the wandering was derived. And the simple language of the old testament, much of it applying to a people leading a similar life to their own, moving about in a wilderness, depending upon flocks and herds, fighting with heathen tribes for existence, had a meaning for them which it cannot have for dwellers in the towns of Europe. The very skies and the landscapes, the

storms and the droughts, the animals and the plants, of the ancient scriptures were the same that they were familiar with. Thus they came to regard themselves as God's peculiar people and to consider all education beyond that of the bible as superfluous, and all that was not in accord with its science dangerous and sinful. These views did not indeed originate with the emigrants. Such opinions had been gathering strength in secluded parts of South Africa for five or six generations, but they reached their highest point of development with those who grew up in the wandering.

The commission proceeded without delay to perform the duties entrusted to it. Everywhere throughout a lengthened tour it was received with the greatest satisfaction, and at every centre of population religious services were held and the sacraments were administered. Within the Sovereignty there was prior to this date only one consistory, that of Winburg. The commission organised another, for the farmers within the Griqua reserve, termed the consistory of Riet River. In November 1848 this consistory petitioned Sir Harry Smith to grant them permission to establish a church and village at Zuurfontein, about fifteen miles within the Griqua boundary. The place belonged to a Griqua named Piet Hendriks, who made no use whatever of it, and was willing to dispose of it for £900, which they were prepared to give. Adam Kok, however, objected so firmly to the alienation of this or any other ground within the reserve to Europeans that the project of building a church at Zuurfontein had to be abandoned.

The synodical commission, a committee which regulates matters connected with the Dutch reformed church when the synod is not in session, towards the close of 1848 sent a second deputation to the emigrant farmers. Its members were Dr. William Robertson of Swellendam and the reverend Philip Edward Faure of Wynberg. These clergymen organised consistories at Smithfield, at the place which later became known as Harrismith, and at Bloemfontein where,

on the 6th of January 1849, the foundation stone of a church was laid in their presence by Major Warden.

On the 12th of March 1849 the reverend Andrew Murray, junior,* was appointed minister of Bloemfontein and consulent of the other congregations. Already schools had been established at Bloemfontein, Winburg, and Smithfield. Through the medium of the synod, the governor was endeavouring to obtain from Holland clergymen and teachers for the still vacant places.

On the same date the British resident was relieved of the duties of civil commissioner and resident magistrate of Bloemfontein, and Mr. Charles Urquhart Stuart was appointed to perform them.

On the 14th of March 1849 regulations for the government of the Sovereignty were proclaimed by Sir Harry Smith, to come in force on the last of that month.

A legislative council was created, consisting of the British resident, the four magistrates, and two unofficial members for each district, who were nominated by the high commissioner from among the landowners of the district. The members so nominated were to retain their seats for three years. The council was to meet once a year at Bloemfontein. It had power to frame laws binding upon all persons in those parts of the Sovereignty which were not native reserves and all persons in the reserves who were not subjects of the native chiefs. The high commissioner was

*Now (1903) D.D., recognised throughout the English-speaking world as an exceptionally talented and earnest evangelical writer, a man who is held in the highest esteem throughout South Africa for his eminent services in connection with education as well as religion. He was the founder in 1874 of the Huguenot seminary at Wellington in the Cape Colony, which has now branches in other parts of South Africa, and in which many hundreds of farmers' daughters are receiving a thoroughly Christian and practical education. He also founded in 1882 at Wellington the missionary training college of the Dutch church, in which young men are prepared for work in the mission field. In both these institutions the principal teachers are Americans, and from America much pecuniary aid has been received. For more than a quarter of a century Dr. Murray was moderator of the synod of the Dutch church in the Cape Colony. The numerous volumes from his pen were published first in Dutch and then in English translations.

to have a veto on all laws. The various chiefs were left in full exercise of power over their people within the reserves.

Hitherto persons charged with serious offences had been sent to Colesberg for trial. A high criminal court was now created for the Sovereignty, to consist of three of the magistrates sitting together.

Commandant Hendrik Potgieter had not accepted the office tendered to him by Sir Harry Smith. The commission which had acted as landdrost of the district of Vaal River was therefore replaced by Mr. Paul Bester, who was appointed civil commissioner and resident magistrate. The seat of his court was fixed at a place then called Vrededorp, but which received the name Harrismith on the 16th of May 1849, when building lots for a village were first sold.

On the 27th of June the names of the unofficial members of the first council were gazetted. They were Messrs. Andries Jacobus Erwee, Willem Daniel Jacobs, Jacobus Theodorus Snyman, Hermanus Wessels, Gerrit Hendrik Meyer, Abraham Smit, Pieter Slabbert, and Cornelis Engelbrecht. The first meeting of the new legislative body took place on the 18th of July. The proceedings were unimportant, and closed on the 21st.

While these events were taking place, the animosity between the Basuto and Batlokua tribes was exhibiting itself in deeds of spoliation. One such case occurred in February 1848, in which a party of Bataung carried off some five hundred cattle belonging to Sikonyela. Complaint was thereupon made to the British resident by the aggrieved party, but before Major Warden could communicate with Moshesh, that chief had settled the matter by requiring the stolen cattle to be sent back to their owner.

In September of the same year a much more serious disturbance took place. A son of Sikonyela drove away the people of two Basuto kraals, and set fire to the huts. Upon this Molapo, Moshesh's son, came down upon the Batlokua kraals in the neighbourhood, set fire to them, drove off their cattle, and killed two men. The Batlokua made reprisals

on other Basuto, and the area of disturbance was widening fast when, by Moshesh's orders, a strong Basuto army, under command of Letsie, went to Molapo's assistance. In one of the skirmishes that followed, a wife of Sikonyela's brother Mota and seventeen Batlokua were killed. Large herds of cattle were also seized by the Basuto.

The British resident invited the contending chiefs to meet the land commission which was then engaged in settling claims to farms in the Winburg district. Moshesh appeared with sixteen hundred warriors at his back, all mounted and carrying firearms. Sikonyela had a similar escort a thousand strong. With difficulty they were persuaded to agree to a suspension of hostilities for four weeks to enable the high commissioner to form a decision, and the cause and events of the quarrel were then investigated. Sikonyela desired that a boundary line should be fixed between him and Moshesh. He asserted that they, the two chiefs, had agreed in 1833 that their territories should be separated by the Putiatsana and a line drawn from the junction of that stream with the Caledon to Lishuane mission station. Moshesh objected at first to any boundary, but ultimately was induced to consent to one. That his people would not observe it was, however, pointed out by one of the French missionaries present, who gave it as his opinion that a force of five hundred soldiers would be required to protect such a boundary.

A report of the whole proceedings was then sent to the high commissioner, who on the 7th of December 1848 gave his decision. He confirmed the proposed boundary between the two tribes, giving Sikonyela a small tract of land south of the Caledon, and adjudged that all cattle seized by either party should be restored to their respective owners.

While the northern border of the Lesuto was in the condition just described, events of much greater importance, because their effects were to be permanent, were transpiring in the south. As soon as it was known that a boundary was about to be fixed which would cut off for ever a portion

of the territory claimed by Moshesh under the Napier treaty, the Basuto became very uneasy. An order issued by the civil commissioner of Caledon River, requiring a census to be taken, occasioned a slight tumult. The disturbance itself was a trivial matter, but it indicated that trouble was in store.

A few weeks later, Mr. Southey, who had been entrusted by the high commissioner with this duty, requested Moshesh to meet him at Smithfield, for the purpose of laying down a line between the Europeans and the Basuto. Moshesh professed to be unable to travel, owing to sickness, and expressed his disinclination to the proposal; but he requested Mr. Rolland, the missionary at Beersheba, to proceed to Smithfield with his son Nehemiah and his most trusted counsellor to meet Mr. Southey and explain his views.

Moshesh desired that the country of his people should be held by the British government to be that defined by the Napier treaty, with the addition of a considerable tract beyond. Within those limits, he maintained that the Bantu, wherever residing, should be subject to his rule. But as regarded the Europeans who had settled on farms in the southern portion of this territory, he was willing that they should be placed under the jurisdiction of the English authorities, and what he understood by a boundary was a line beyond which they should not be allowed to occupy any land. Under this plan the northern part of his country would be reserved entirely for the Basuto, and the southern part be inhabited by a mixed population of Europeans and Basuto, each nationality under its own government.

Sir Harry Smith's intention was that a boundary should be drawn between the Europeans and the Basuto wherever it could be laid down so as to disturb the smallest number of actual occupants on the 3rd of February 1848, and that all on one side should be under the government of the English authorities; that on the other side what may be termed foreign affairs should be under the

control of her Majesty's high commissioner, but domestic affairs should be left to the government of Moshesh.

It would have been impossible to lay down a line that would satisfy all the parties interested. In the extensive district stretching from the Long mountain to the junction of the Caledon and the Orange, which only a few years before was almost uninhabited, there had been recently, and there was still, a struggle between whites and blacks for the possession of land. Europeans from the south and Bantu from all sides had been pouring into it, each selecting the most fertile spots and immediately thereafter asserting the rights of occupation. In some parts they were all mixed together, a Bantu kraal in the centre of a group of farms or a farm in the centre of a group of kraals. Any line whatever must have left Europeans under Moshesh and cut black people off from him, unless both were required to remove. And none were willing to remove, and there was no physical force at hand to compel them to. Such were the difficulties under which an attempt was made to lay down a boundary between the Europeans and the Basuto.

Mr. Southey proposed a line almost identical with the present one between the Orange and the Caledon continued to the source of the Modder river, and wrote to Moshesh that he should submit it to the high commissioner. He promised, however, to request that it should not be confirmed until the chief had time to write to his Excellency on the subject, if in his opinion it required any alteration.

The line was not confirmed. Mr. Casalis wrote to Sir Harry Smith that its adoption would necessitate the removal of *at least* forty villages of Basuto, upon which the British resident was instructed to ascertain whether another could not be fixed upon that would interfere less with actual occupants. In the winter of 1849, Major Warden, taking with him a land surveyor, visited Smithfield, where he invited Moshesh to meet him, but the chief did not

receive the letter in time. Mr. Rex, the surveyor, was then directed to examine the country carefully, and make a map of the boundary that would best meet the intentions of the governor.

It is necessary now to revert to Sikonyela. Two days after the conference between the chiefs and the land commission, the Basuto captain Letsela fell upon a Batlokua kraal, killed a Motlokua, and drove off one hundred and forty head of cattle, assigning as a reason for doing so that the old award in his favour against Sikonyela had not been complied with. For more than a month there was no attempt at retaliation, but on the 2nd of January 1849, after the announcement of the high commissioner's decision, a Batlokua army in three divisions, under Sikonyela himself, his brother Mota, and his son David, attacked the kraals of two petty Basuto captains, killed twenty-three men, and carried off some women and children as well as a large booty in cattle.

Moshesh then appealed to the British resident. Major Warden met Sikonyela, who tried to throw the blame upon his adversary, but could not clear himself. He seemed bent upon war, and said that nothing but the blood of a daughter of Moshesh could atone for the death of Mota's wife. After this Major Warden had an interview with the Basuto chief, who professed to be most anxious for peace, though he asserted that he wanted no help to fight his battles, if the British authorities would let him alone to deal with the Batlokua.

The British resident recommended that the high commissioner's award should be carried out by each party bringing to Mekuatling and there delivering to the Bataung chief Molitsane all cattle seized. Both chiefs professedly consented, but neither did anything else. Sikonyela continued his attacks, and Moshesh returned them. Major Warden thought it would be difficult to say who was most in fault, because, in his opinion, Moshesh should have withdrawn his people from the territory of Sikonyela as soon as possible after the boundary between them had been

confirmed by the high commissioner, and that he had not done.

Next the Batlokua fell upon the Bataung, and then the Koranas of Gert Taaibosch and a swarm of vagabonds of a similar stamp from the lower Vaal, under Jan Bloem, scenting plunder, joined Sikonyela. The cattle of the Batlokua were nearly all seized by the Basuto and the Bataung, and the confusion was daily becoming greater.

In June the British resident had a conference with the contending chiefs, at which terms of peace were arranged, by all parties agreeing to restore their plunder. Moshesh kept his promise fairly well, by giving up about twelve hundred head of cattle, but Molitsane only surrendered three hundred out of four thousand head, and Sikonyela delivered nothing.

The cattle were hardly out of Moshesh's hands when Sikonyela, who in the meantime had received further reinforcements of Koranas and had been joined by a few Fingos, swooped down upon some Bataung and Basuto kraals, killed thirty-four individuals, and drove off the stock. Following up his success, he attacked and burned Molitsane's own kraal, seized the grain, and turned the women and children off in a destitute condition. It was midwinter, and the weather was so stormy and bitterly cold that numbers of the wretched creatures perished before shelter could be reached.

The Basuto chief immediately called upon the British resident to restore order. Without a strong military force no man could have done this, and Major Warden's only expedient was to call another meeting of the chiefs. In his notice to this effect he guaranteed to them all safe conduct to and from the meeting, and promised that any one causing a breach of the peace during their absence should be visited with certain and most severe punishment.

A few days later the British resident received a letter from the high commissioner, in which Sir Harry Smith stated that it was evident Moshesh was acting dishonestly,

that he must be humbled, and that a coalition of all the other chiefs should be formed against him. Should hostile measures be necessary, a body of troops should also be employed, and a strong commando of farmers should be called out.

With these instructions—which he had himself suggested—as a guide, the British resident presided over a meeting of chiefs at Bloemfontein on the 27th of August 1849. Moshesh did not attend, but he sent two of his most trusted counsellors to represent him, and professed to be willing to make concessions to obtain peace. Moroko, Molitsane, Adam Kok, and Carolus Baatje were present, but neither Sikonyela nor Gert Taaibosch took any notice of the invitation. The boundary question was almost the only one discussed. Moshesh was blamed for not having withdrawn his people from beyond the line fixed by the high commissioner between him and Sikonyela, and the coalition which was desired was formed.

On the very day on which the meeting was held at Bloemfontein, Sikonyela and Gert Taaibosch fell upon some Basuto and Bataung kraals and plundered them; but though Moshesh and Molitsane appealed to the British resident to keep the promise made in his notice, he did nothing more than write to the offenders exhorting them not to break the peace again, to which letter they paid not the slightest attention.

Such was the condition of affairs when Major Warden invited Moshesh to meet him at Beersheba and arrange a boundary between the Caledon River district and Basutoland. The chief was given to understand that if he would comply the Batlokua and Koranas would be restrained from further aggressions, and he would be regarded as a faithful friend of the English government; but if he refused to do so, all the petty chiefs in the land, Molitsane only excepted, were prepared to join the European forces against him.

Moshesh did not meet the British resident at Beersheba, but he sent his son Letsie and one of his counsellors.

Letsie was informed of the boundary decided upon, and was asked to give his consent to it. He replied that his consent would be like that of a dog dragged by a riem round its neck. On behalf of Moshesh he proposed a line from the junction of Kornet Spruit with the Orange to the western extremity of the Koesberg, the continuation, on account of its affecting the Beersheba lands, to be arranged at another time; but the British resident declined to entertain it. Letsie conveyed to his father a letter enclosing a sketch of the boundary, and informing him that upon his accepting it the bands of Batlokua and Koranas would be brought to order.

With the consequences of refusal thus brought clearly before him, Moshesh affixed his mark to a letter, dated the 1st of October 1849, agreeing to the proposed limits of the Lesuto. He begged that his people on the European side should not be driven from their pastures or otherwise ill-treated, and pointed out that the kraals cut off from his jurisdiction were more than a hundred in number. He further requested that boundaries should be made for the mission stations Beersheba and Hebron, and that they should be connected with the Lesuto by a passage at least two miles in width.

Of the hundred Basuto kraals referred to by Moshesh as situated west of the line, most were residences of only one or two families. The boundary of Major Warden was considerably more to the advantage of the Basuto than the proposed one of Mr. Southey, which Mr. Casalis described as cutting off *at least* forty villages. The discrepancy is explained partly by the omission of clusters of only two or three huts by the missionary, but principally by a recent migration of Basuto into the thinly inhabited district below the Long mountain.

The French missionaries, who had been called to witness Moshesh's signature, immediately addressed a letter on the subject to Sir Harry Smith. In a few words they drew attention to the manner in which the chief's consent was

obtained, pointed out an alteration in the line that would preserve to the Basuto sixty or seventy kraals now cut off, and expressed an opinion that if his Excellency should approve of the Warden line, feelings of great discontent would remain in the tribe.

The British resident promised Moshesh that the Basuto in the Caledon River district should receive the same protection as Europeans, and that they should hold their lands in the same manner. He anticipated that within a twelvemonth most of them would have sold their ground to white men, and would have removed to the reserve occupied by their tribe.

Major Warden requested the high commissioner to confirm the line, but though it was approved of before the 31st of October, as may be seen in the reply to the French missionaries, it was not until the 18th of December that it was established by formal notice. It cut off a very large part of the Lesuto as defined by the Napier treaty, but much of this was never in the occupation of the Basuto people. Putting aside that treaty, their claim to the country below the Long mountain, or any portion of it, rested on exactly the same ground as that of the European inhabitants: they had found it a waste, and had moved into it. Whether the line laid down by Major Warden gave them a fair share of that district, or whether it gave to the Europeans, or to the Basuto, more than they were strictly entitled to, will be decided by every individual according to his own ideas of justice.

As soon as this boundary had been settled, the British resident directed his attention to the country occupied by the various clans farther north. In October and November he laid down lines, defining the reserves allotted to Sikonyela, Gert Taaibosch, Molitsane, Carolus Baatje, and Moroko, and informed these chiefs that all coloured people living within those bounds were thereafter to be subject to their jurisdiction. Their outer boundaries were the actual lines then separating occupied farms from the commonages of kraals.

All the parties interested agreed to them without demur. Wherever there were prominent positions, beacons were placed, for owing to the circumstances of occupation this boundary could not be defined by streams or mountain ranges. The district of Thaba Ntshu, where Moroko had been living since 1833, was set apart as a reserve for his section of the Barolong. On the 18th of December 1849 a notice was published by order of the high commissioner, confirming the lines thus laid down between the reserves for coloured people and the portion of the Sovereignty set apart for European occupation.

The system of government henceforth to be carried out was explained by Major Warden to be that any chief allowing his people to pass the limits of his country to the prejudice of another clan would be viewed as a common enemy and treated as such. This would have been possible if the British resident had been provided with sufficient military force, or if there had been some approach to equality of strength among the chiefs, or if even the whole of the others combined had been as powerful as Moshesh. Major Warden certainly thought they were much stronger than they subsequently proved to be. He asserted on one occasion that he believed eight hundred Koranas to be equal to two thousand Basuto, and on another that he believed the Koranas of Gert Taaibosch and Jan Bloem to be more than a match for all the Bantu clans, those of Moshesh, Molitsane, Sikonyela, and Moroko, together.

The defect of the system was want of power to enforce it. Sir Harry Smith made it a condition of holding a farm that every able-bodied man upon it should be liable to military service in aid of the queen *and her allies*, whenever called upon by the British resident or the magistrates. But almost to a man the European inhabitants of the Sovereignty were opposed to this principle. As far as the outer line between themselves and the reserves was concerned, they were quite willing to protect it. But they maintained that it was neither their duty nor their interest

to interfere in quarrels which did not affect them, and as her Majesty's allies would be whichever clan was for the time being in favour, under such a land tenure they would be continually embroiled in war. From them, therefore, no hearty assistance could be expected.

Henceforth the petty clans along the Caledon relied not only for protection, but for existence itself, upon the British resident, who was without a police or an army of any strength. Nothing but the sagacity of Moshesh prevented the Basuto from driving them all from the country.

Outside the reserves there were not many blacks living, but wherever they were in actual possession of ground on the 3rd of February 1848 their right to it was acknowledged. The only difference in their position that Sir Harry Smith's measures made was that they were now subject to the jurisdiction of European magistrates. It was anticipated, and the anticipation was correct, that most of them would desire to dispose of their land and remove to the reserves. But in order that they might not be unfairly dealt with, it was notified that no sales of ground by them would be considered legal unless made before the civil commissioner of the district in which the land was situated.

In January 1850 the reverend Dirk van Velden was appointed clergyman of Winburg. Ministers for the other congregations were not obtainable, and if they had been, there were no funds with which to pay their salaries. Messrs. Murray and Van Velden were therefore obliged to act as consulents for the parishes of Harrismith, Smithfield, and Riet River. Each district was now provided with a school.

The revenue had not been as large as the high commissioner had estimated, and the expenditure had been greater. On the 10th of September 1850 an account was made out by the Sovereignty treasurer, which showed that the expenditure to that date for civil purposes alone had been in excess of the revenue by £4,905. This amount had been drawn as a loan from the treasury of the Cape Colony, but

there was no possibility of paying it. The revenue of the year 1851 was £6,105 and the expenditure £6,095.*

On the 10th of June 1850 the first number of a weekly newspaper termed the *Friend of the Sovereignty* was issued at Bloemfontein by a branch of the firm of Godlonton and White, of Grahamstown. This paper, printed partly in Dutch and partly in English, continued in existence until recently under the name of the *Friend of the Free State.*

The district between the Modder and Vaal rivers had been purchased by Mr. D. S. Fourie for the party of which he was the head from the Bushman captain David Danser, and the right of the purchasers had for eleven years never been disputed. In August 1850 Major Warden visited that part of the Sovereignty. At Van-Wyk's-Vlei, now Boshof, he heard loud complaints from the farmers of robberies by a Bushman captain or leader named Kausop, who wandered about that part of the country. The major sent for Kausop, who made his appearance with twenty followers. He stated that he was of higher rank than Danser, that his ancestors exercised authority over Danser's, and therefore he laid claim to the whole district. He was informed that his claim would not be admitted, nor existing ownership be disturbed, but that as a resident in the country he would be provided for. It was ascertained that he had a following of about two hundred souls. Major Warden recommended that he should be provided with a location along the Vaal. Sir Harry Smith approved of this, and Kausop was put in possession of a tract of land seventy-two square miles or 184 square kilometres in extent.

Adjoining his location on the upper side, a plot of ground stretching ten miles or 16 kilometres back from the river, ten miles above Platberg, and ten miles below that mountain, that is two hundred square miles or 512 square kilometres in extent, had in the preceding year been allotted

* By an ordinance of the Cape legislative council in February 1852 the sum of £9,684, said to have been advanced to the Sovereignty, was remitted. But on examining the items which make up that sum, it is seen that several were not fairly chargeable to the Sovereignty government.

jointly to David Danser and Goliath Yzerbek, the latter a petty Korana captain for whose use the land of the mission station Bethany had been reserved in the treaty between Sir Peregrine Maitland and Adam Kok. Goliath had wandered away from Bethany, where he felt uncomfortable on account of being hemmed in by farms. Along the lower Vaal he could enjoy a greater sense of freedom, for across the river a vast extent of almost waste country stretched away to the north-west. But a mistake was made in giving him and Danser joint proprietorship in a location, for they began to quarrel almost at once. Major Warden estimated that between them they had a following of about three hundred and fifty families.

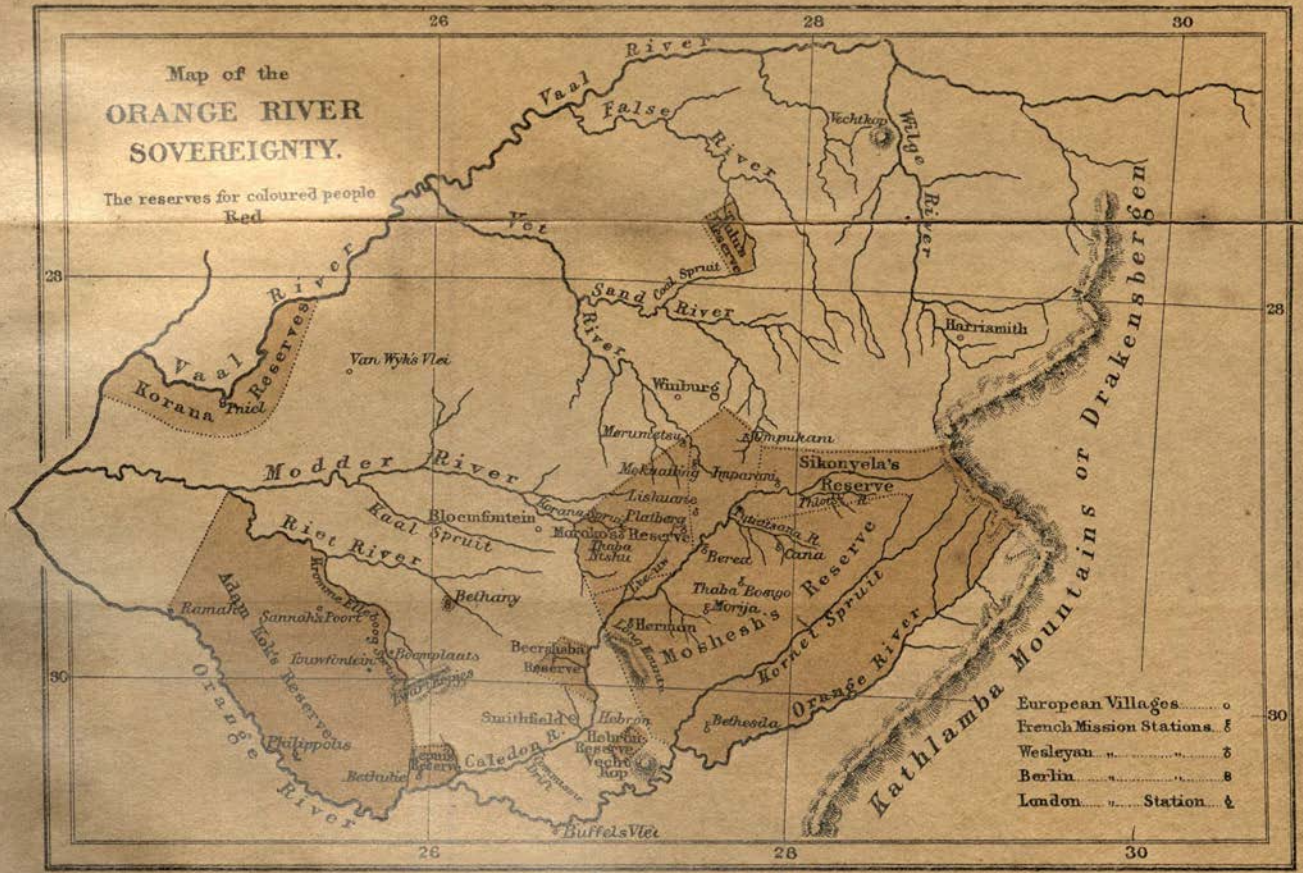
Adjoining Kausop's location on the lower side was a reserve allotted to the mixed-breed Jan Bloem, the head of the Springbok Koranas. This reserve was extended in February 1852 to the bend of the river where it is joined by the Hart. The Berlin mission society had some few years previously founded the station of Pniel on the southern bank of the Vaal, and these reserves were laid out with a view of bringing the Koranas and Bushmen within its influence. This is the ground on which eighteen years later the first discovery of diamonds in South Africa was made. In 1850 a few farmers who had previously been living there made no objection to Major Warden's proposal that they should resign their land to the Koranas, and receive allotments farther back from the river. As for Danser, he was hardly in possession of a location when he sold some farms in it, but the British resident declared the sales illegal and refused to allow transfer.

The Griqua captain Cornelis Kok of Campbell laid claim to some land in this part of the Sovereignty, though he had no subjects living on the southern side of the Vaal. His right of chieftainship was acknowledged by Sir Harry Smith, and on the 1st of May 1848 he was informed that directions had been given to Major Warden to have the boundaries of his territory properly defined by a land commission. But

this definition was never made, because the ground which he and his people occupied was found to be beyond the Sovereignty. His claim on the left bank of the river was then so far admitted that as a proprietor he was allowed to sell farms to any one who chose to buy them, but the Sovereignty government exercised exclusive jurisdiction over all the inhabitants between the Modder and the Vaal, except those in the reserves.

Between the Modder and Orange rivers, the country west of Adam Kok's reserve was unoccupied. It was claimed by the Griqua captain Andries Waterboer, and Cornelis Kok also asserted a right to a portion of it. Waterboer's claim rested on his treaty with Sir Benjamin D'Urban, in which the little kraal of Ramah was mentioned as the extremity of his territory, and this was the south-western point of Adam Kok's reserve. Further, Sir Harry Smith, without entering into particulars, had said to Waterboer that his district and Kok's might join. Still, the question was open how far his ground extended north from Ramah. Cornelis Kok claimed the angle between the Modder river and Adam Kok's line, but Waterboer maintained that the entire district up to the Modder should be his. Neither, however, seemed to attach much value to it. Major Warden was inclined to treat the whole as waste land, seeing that neither of the captains had any use for it, that both resided beyond the Vaal, and both had ample territory there. And he proceeded to issue certificates for several farms in it. But the soil in that part was so uninviting that applicants for ground there were very few.

On the 13th of December 1852 Andries Waterboer died, and ten days later the people of Griquatown elected his son Nicholas as his successor. On the 18th of the following January the councillors of the clan wrote to Lieutenant-Governor Darling, requesting that the newly elected captain might be recognised by the imperial and colonial governments as the lawful chief of Griquatown and the surrounding districts, and that he might be admitted to the same alliance



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as was described in the treaty with his father. But the day of such alliances was past. The high commissioner caused a reply to be sent, recognising the new chief and wishing him and his people prosperity; but stating that the treaty with Andries Waterboer was a personal one, and that his Excellency did not feel authorised to enter into another.

On the 25th of March 1851 letters patent were issued at Westminster creating a constitution for the Orange River Sovereignty. The constitution was sent out by Earl Grey, then secretary of state for the colonies, but was never promulgated, owing to the condition of the country at the time of its arrival. The only effect which it had was to prevent the continuation of a legislative council after the close of the term of three years for which the first members were appointed. In addition to the members of this council whose names have already been given, Mr. Henry Halse was appointed on the 18th of August 1850, and Messrs. Frederik Linde and Andrew Hudson Bain on the 29th of December 1851.

In January 1850 Major Warden called out a commando for the purpose of clearing the Caledon River district of Bushmen. A party of these marauders had recently presented themselves at the homestead of a farmer named Van Hansen, and one of them demanded some tobacco. Upon the farmer refusing to give it, the Bushmen murdered him, his wife, four children, and two servants; and then set fire to the house.

The boundary laid down between this district and the Basuto reserve placed Vechtkop, the residence of Moshesh's brother Poshuli, on the European side. Poshuli was therefore considered to be under magisterial jurisdiction. He was believed to have instigated the Bushmen to commit the murders, as he had taken many of these people under his protection. Some persons for whose apprehension warrants had been issued by the resident magistrate had been sheltered by him, and when summoned he had declined to appear. Major Warden therefore fined him fifty oxen,

and as he refused to pay, the commando was sent to seize his cattle. They were taken without resistance. Among them were thirty head which were at once sworn to as having been recently stolen from farmers in the district. A few others belonged to Mokatshane, father of Moshesh and Poshuli, who was then living at Thaba Bosigo. It was quite impossible for Major Warden to know who was the owner of each ox seized; all that he could tell with certainty was that the cattle were found at the stronghold of a notorious robber, who refused to appear when summoned, and who was strongly suspected of being implicated in a coldblooded massacre. An outcry was, however, raised by Moshesh, who termed the seizure of his father's cattle an unjust and unfriendly act.

With this exception the early months of 1850 passed by without any noteworthy disturbances. Gert Taaibosch removed for a time with his horde from the district just allotted to him, and resumed the wandering habits of his race, so that there was one element of strife the less on the Basuto border.

But the calm did not last long. Sikonyela's people fell upon some clans of Bataung and Basuto and plundered them, and when the British resident called a meeting of chiefs to discuss the matter, the offender declined to attend.

On the 1st of September 1850 Major Warden received the high commissioner's authority to employ the military force then at Bloemfontein and to call out a commando of farmers and coloured people to punish the Batlokua. The order came too late. On the 30th of August the Bataung attacked the mission station Umpukani, the people of which they believed to be in alliance with Sikonyela, killed twenty persons, wounded many more, and swept off the cattle.

Seventeen days later a combined military, burgher, and coloured force moved against Sikonyela, but upon the intercession of Moroko and Gert Taaibosch, that chief was admitted to an interview with the British resident, and as he expressed contrition, he was merely adjudged to pay a

fine of three hundred head of cattle at some future day. As soon as this was settled, the Batlokua chief joined his forces to those of Major Warden, and together they proceeded to fall upon Molitsane and punish him for violating the sanctity of a mission station. At this time so little conception had the British resident of the strength of Moshesh that it was his intention to attack the Basuto if they should shelter Molitsane's cattle and decline to give them up.

At daybreak on the morning of the 21st of September the Bataung kraals at Mekuatling were attacked. The British resident had with him about one hundred soldiers, but only thirty-five farmers had answered his call to arms. The native contingent was composed of Batlokua under Sikonyela, Barolong under Moroko, Koranas under Gert Taaibosch, half-breeds under Carolus Baatje, and a number of Fingos. The Bataung, who were taken by surprise, made but slight resistance, and within a few hours about twenty individuals were killed on their side, three thousand five hundred head of cattle were captured, and a large amount of other spoil in sheep, goats, and grain was secured. Ten waggons were also taken that belonged to a party of Koranas under a petty roving captain named Gert Lynx, who was at feud with Gert Taaibosch. The attacking party had only three coloured men killed and six wounded. A large portion of the spoil was distributed among the people of Umpukani and the allies, and the remainder was forwarded to Winburg and Bloemfontein to be sold to meet the expense of the expedition.

The commando had hardly left Mekuatling when word was brought to the British resident that the Barolong had been attacked and plundered. Morakabi, son of Molitsane, and Moseme, a petty Basuto captain, together fell upon Moroko's outposts, killed several of his people, and swept off his herds, consisting of three thousand eight hundred head of horned cattle and eight hundred horses. The cattle were driven across the Caledon, where they were received by Moshesh's people.

This loss having fallen upon Moroko as a direct consequence of the part he had taken in aiding the British resident against Molitsane, Major Warden gave him the strongest assurance that the government would support him at whatever cost, and called upon Moshesh to restore the cattle taken from him.

A series of negotiations then followed, which show that Moshesh personally was desirous of maintaining peace with the English government, while his people were ready for war and averse to any concessions. The chief of the Barolong declined to enter into arrangements with Moshesh, and looked to the British resident for protection and restitution of all he had lost.

At length, in March 1851, Moshesh sent some two thousand one hundred head of cattle, mostly of an inferior kind, which he had collected together, as compensation to Moroko, and Major Warden received them on account. Molitsane also gave up about four hundred head at the same time. These cattle were surrendered three months after the commencement of the eighth war between the Xosas and the Cape Colony, and while the Kaffirs were flushed with success, which is strong evidence of the Basuto chief's desire for peace.

In the meantime retaliations and counter retaliations were constantly taking place among the contending clans. Other events were likewise occurring which tended to make the aspect of affairs still darker.

A small party of Tembus had been living for many years in the neighbourhood of the Koesbergen. These people were suspected of being in league with their kindred who were in alliance with the Xosas and at war with the Cape Colony, and as they resisted an attempt to disarm them and remove them farther from the border, the British resident resolved to expel them. Among others whom he summoned to assist him was Poshuli, and this chief, in expectation of thereby gaining favour, committed some most revolting cruelties, among other barbarous acts murdering

in cold blood three headmen whom he had invited to meet him.

Some of the Tembus who escaped fled across the Orange to the country occupied by the Baphuti under Morosi, who acknowledged his dependence upon Moshesh, though he was not always a very obedient vassal. There was, however, strong sympathy between the Baphuti and the other branches of the Basuto whenever outside pressure was felt by any clan of the tribe.

While Major Warden was attacking the Tembus north of the Orange, the civil commissioner of Albert was marching with a commando of farmers and Fingos against clans of the same tribe on the southern bank of the river. The British resident crossed over, joined his forces to this commando, and then, as Morosi did not appear when summoned, a movement was made towards his kraal. The Baphuti did not wait to be attacked, but fell upon the advance guard of the approaching force, and a skirmish followed in which nine Europeans were killed before the remainder of the commando could come up.

From this date the Baphuti openly joined the enemies of the Cape Colony, and a general course of plundering by them and the Tembus from the farmers and Fingos commenced on both sides of the river. Moshesh professed to be doing his utmost to restore tranquillity, but many of his followers openly joined Morosi.

These events gave the first intimation to the high commissioner that the Basuto chief claimed authority over people living south of the Orange. He immediately wrote to Moshesh that such authority would not be recognised, and that Morosi being beyond the country of the Basuto must be obedient to the colonial law.

Gert Taaibosch next fell upon Molitsane and drove off his herds. The Bataung retaliated upon Moroko, and Moseme joined in despoiling the Barolong of the cattle so recently given up by Moshesh. Then the British resident summoned all the chiefs in the Sovereignty to meet at

Bloemfontein on the 4th of June to inquire into the cause of the commotions, but without waiting for them to assemble he called out a commando of three hundred and fifty farmers and two thousand six hundred blacks of various clans for the purpose, as he stated, of humbling the Basuto and Bataung.

Moshesh replied to Major Warden's circular calling the meeting that the confusion about him would prevent his attendance, and attributing the deplorable condition of the country entirely to the laying down of boundary lines. On the 4th of June only Moroko and Gert Taaibosch appeared, and the design of a conference was therefore fruitless.

The high commissioner sanctioned the project of the British resident, and instructed him to attack Moshesh and Molitsane if they would not yield to the demands made upon them, and to prosecute the war against them until they were humbled. He declared that he regarded Moroko as the paramount native chief in the Sovereignty, from his hereditary descent, his peaceable demeanour, and his attachment to the British government. From this it is certain that at that time neither the high commissioner nor the British resident knew much of the history or of the strength of the various tribes and clans.

A difficulty occurred that had not been foreseen. The farmers in general declined to take up arms in such a quarrel, and instead of three hundred and fifty men who were called out, only one hundred and twenty, after much trouble, could be induced to take the field. Moshesh sent them word that he wished to continue in peace with them, and warned them not to aid in war against his people. Commandant Snyman and Mr. Josias P. Hoffman, subsequently first president of the Orange Free State, waited upon the British resident at Bloemfontein, and endeavoured to dissuade him from further interference in these tribal quarrels, but to no purpose.

As ultimately made up, the commando consisted of one hundred and sixty-two British soldiers, one hundred and

twenty farmers, and a rabble from one thousand to fifteen hundred strong, composed of Fingos, half-breeds of Carolus Baatje, Barolong of Moroko, Griquas of Adam Kok, and Koranas of Gert Taaibosch and other captains. The whole was under command of Major Donovan of the Cape mounted rifles. The native contingents were accompanied by a large number of women and children. On the 20th of June 1851 this commando formed a camp at Platberg.

The British resident invited Moshesh to meet him, but instead of appearing personally, he requested Messrs. Casalis and Dyke to represent him. These gentlemen found on arrival at the camp that Major Warden would make no concessions. On the 25th of June the Basuto chief was called upon to pay six thousand head of good cattle and three hundred horses, to be delivered at Platberg before the 4th of July. No communication was held with Molitsane, as Major Warden was resolved to fall upon him and expel him from the district recently allotted to him.

Sikonyela, with only a following of a dozen men, had accompanied the British resident from Bloemfontein, and as it was considered necessary for him to assemble his warriors and bring them at once to join the commando, he was furnished with an escort of eighty Barolong and Koranas and sent to his own country. His road for several miles lay through the Basuto reserve, and the French missionaries pointed out that his proceeding along it could not fail to provoke an attack. On the way he was met by a large body of Basuto and Bataung under Moshesh's brother Moperi and Molitsane, who drove him to a hill where he defended himself bravely for a whole day until rescued by a patrol sent to his relief.

On the 29th a meeting was held of the European leaders, the chiefs and captains, and a number of petty Korana headmen who were in the camp, when it was decided to attack Molitsane next morning at daybreak.

The principal stronghold of the Bataung was the hill Viervoet, the crown of which is a tableland bordered, like

many others in the country, with almost perpendicular precipices. Upon this hill Moseme's clan as well as the Bataung had placed their cattle for safety when the approach of the commando caused them to abandon their kraals.

At daybreak on the morning of Monday the 30th of June Major Donovan moved the greater part of his motley force against Viervoet. The hill was stormed without difficulty or much loss of life on either side, and the cattle were taken possession of. The Barolong contingent then commenced to plunder the huts and regale themselves on millet beer, which they found in large quantities ready made.

While this was going on, three bodies of Basuto, under command of Letsie, Molapo, and Moperi, arrived at Viervoet, and the routed clans rallied and joined them. The fortune of battle was turned at once. The cattle were retaken. A party of Barolong was cut off, and those of them who were not destroyed by the assagai and battle-axe were hurled over the cliffs. A field-gun was barely saved from capture. The loss of the native contingent in killed alone was estimated by Major Warden at one hundred and fifty-two men, but according to another trustworthy account it must have been even higher. It fell principally upon the Barolong, and two brothers of Moroko were included in it. The number of wounded was also very large. On the Basuto side sixteen men at most were killed.

The commando retreated to Thaba Ntshu, where a camp was formed, but a few weeks later it was broken up, and what remained of the force fell back upon Bloemfontein. The petty chiefs who were opposed to Moshesh were now all thrown upon the hands of the government for protection and support. Some little bands of Fingos were located on the town commonage of Bloemfontein. To others it was necessary to serve out rations to prevent them from starving. The Barolong were obliged to abandon Thaba Ntshu, and nothing better could be done than to permit them to take possession of unoccupied ground anywhere in

the district of Bloemfontein. The same was the case with the half-breeds of Carolus Baatje. All the allies had substantial claims for compensation on account of their losses, all were clamorous in putting their grievances forward.

The British resident now found himself without authority in the greater part of the Sovereignty. He did his utmost to raise a commando of farmers, but was unsuccessful. He then applied to the government of Natal for assistance, and Mr. Pine, who was then lieutenant-governor of that province, promptly sent to his aid two companies of the 45th regiment of infantry, comprising one hundred and seventy-two men of all ranks, seventeen Cape mounted riflemen, and five hundred and ninety blacks, the whole under command of Captain Parish of the 45th. Sir Harry Smith issued instructions to act only on the defensive until such time as troops could be spared from the eastern colonial frontier, when he would bring up a force sufficiently strong to restore British authority. Major Warden therefore garrisoned the village of Winburg with the troops from Natal, and stationed the Bantu contingent with Moroko to protect his people.

In the meantime the Basuto had taken possession of the districts previously occupied by the Barolong, the Koranas, and the half-breeds, and had seized the greater portion of the stock belonging to those clans. Moshesh asserted that he was not an enemy of the queen of England, but at the same time his followers attacked those farmers who were attached to the English government and who had obeyed the call to arms. These were searched out in the Harrismith, Winburg, Bloemfontein, and Caledon River districts, and were despoiled of whatever the Basuto raiders could lay their hands upon. Among them were two men whose names will frequently appear again in this narrative—Jan I. J. Fick and Cornelis de Villiers.

When intelligence of these events reached England, military reinforcements were promptly sent out to enable

Sir Harry Smith to restore British authority north of the Orange, if that could not be effected in any other way than by force of arms. But Earl Grey had no intention of burdening the imperial treasury with the permanent charge of maintaining a large garrison in the Sovereignty, and the same despatch which announced that troops would be sent to restore British prestige indicated that unless the majority of the inhabitants would willingly obey and actively support the resident, English rule over the country would be withdrawn.

At this time the war with the rebel Hottentots, Tembus, and Xosas was taxing all the energies of Sir Harry Smith and trying the patience of the secretary of state. Hostilities with the Basuto tribe beyond the Orange were therefore felt as a grievous addition to other troubles.

The republican party in the Sovereignty looked upon this as a favourable opportunity to assert their independence of England. On the 25th of August a document was signed at Winburg by one hundred and thirty-seven men, requesting Mr. A. W. Pretorius to take upon himself the office of administrator-general. As soon as this became known, numbers of farmers in other parts of the country declared their adhesion to the cause. Moshesh, who was well informed of what was taking place in British Kaffraria, and who knew that the Kaffirs had been so far successful there, probably regarded the English cause as now the weaker one, and in the same manner as he acted on every similar occasion throughout his life, he went over to what he believed to be the stronger party. This Moshesh, the chief who talked so much in later years of his constant devotion to the queen, joined in the invitation to Mr. Pretorius to come and restore peace to a ruined country.

A deputation of farmers, acting independently of Major Warden, though not concealing their transactions from him, proceeded to Thaba Bosigo, and concluded peace with Moshesh. The farmers undertook not to interfere in any tribal quarrels, and only to take up arms against those who

should violate the boundary between whites and blacks. Moshesh undertook to make no war with them unless they should cross the boundary, to cause all thieving to cease, and to deliver up stolen cattle. To this effect an agreement was drawn up and signed on the 3rd of September by Moshesh and his sons Molapo, Masupha, and Nehemiah on the one part, and by the delegates G. F. Linde and Jan Vermaak on the other. This agreement was faithfully observed on both sides. The farmers who ignored the British resident were left unmolested, or if their cattle were driven off by mistake, they were immediately restored. Those who adhered to the English government, on the contrary, were sought out and plundered everywhere.

CHAPTER XLVII.

THE ORANGE RIVER SOVEREIGNTY. 1851 AND 1852.

On their arrival at Bloemfontein on the 27th of November 1851 the assistant commissioners Hogg and Owen found those farmers who ignored the British resident's authority, and who were in alliance with Moshesh, living in a condition of peace, but all other sections of the inhabitants were engaged in strife.

The Natal blacks had recently been removed to Sikonyela's district, but the danger of employing a force of this kind, unless in concert with a more powerful body of Europeans, had become very apparent. They had broken free of control, and were almost as formidable to their friends as to their enemies. Seeking plunder wherever it was to be obtained, their chief object seemed to be to return to their homes as soon as they could collect a drove of cattle. It was believed to be almost as dangerous to attempt to disband them as it was to keep them under arms, but they fortunately relieved the government of the difficulty by general desertion.

The troops from Natal were stationed at Thaba Ntshu, to which place Moroko's people had returned. But as the loyal farmers of Winburg were being constantly plundered by bands of Basuto and Bataung, and were in less favourable circumstances than the Barolong for defence, this force was sent to their assistance. Moroko was consequently left to his own resources.

The half-breeds and Fingos, whose families were rationed by the government, were actively engaged in worrying the people of Moshesh. They were provided with ammunition

by Major Warden, and in little bands they descended upon exposed parts of the Lesuto and were gone with their plunder before the inhabitants could get together to resist them. As this conduct provoked retaliation, the assistant commissioners prohibited the further supply of ammunition to these people and discontinued the issue of rations to them.

An inquiry into the financial condition of the country occupied some little time. It was ascertained that the revenue was barely sufficient for the maintenance of the civil establishment, and that a police force was out of the question. No offices had been created besides those already mentioned, excepting that of registrar of deeds. This situation was held by Mr. Joseph Allison, who was also clerk to the British resident and secretary to the legislative council. No reductions in the limited civil establishment were possible. The revenue officers were called upon to account for the balances shown by their books to be in their possession, when Mr. C. U. Stuart, civil commissioner of Bloemfontein, was found to have misapplied public money. He was therefore dismissed, and Mr. Hector Lowen was appointed to succeed him.

The legislative council met on the 30th of December. On the 1st of January 1852 the assistant commissioners requested the members to take the following questions into careful consideration and report upon them:—

1. As to future relations with native tribes, whether it would not be advisable that they should be allowed to settle their own disputes. Should they request the advice or arbitration of the resident or the council, might that not be conceded without undertaking any responsibility?

2. As to what would, in their opinion, improve the constitution of the Sovereignty, so as to give them more management of their own affairs, and ensure, in case any evils should accrue from that management, that they themselves should be responsible for them, and not the government?

3. As the country for many years must be infested by wandering natives, what system of internal arrangement would the council recommend to be carried out, with as little severity as might be consistent with safety to life and property?

The council took these questions into consideration, and brought up a report, prefacing it with a statement that it was grounded on a firm reliance that her Majesty's government would indemnify all who had adhered to it and suffered in consequence, to the full extent of their losses.

On the first question they were of opinion that as soon as British honour had been vindicated and peace restored to the country, the queen's supremacy over the native tribes should be withdrawn. But if that were not satisfactorily done, they should consider her Majesty's faithful subjects and allies in the Sovereignty a deeply injured people.

On the second question they desired that the Sovereignty should be annexed to the Cape Colony, their interests being identical and inseparable.

On the third question they considered it unnecessary to make any other remark than that they were content to throw in their lot with the Cape Colony under the new constitution which was then graciously offered by her Majesty to that dependency of the empire.

While this matter was being considered, the assistant commissioners entered into correspondence with Commandant-General Andries Pretorius, who was then residing at Magalisberg, and arrangements were made with him and his colleagues, which ended by the signing of the Sand River convention on the 17th of January 1852, under the terms of which the farmers north of the Vaal were acknowledged to be an independent people. Those who were disaffected towards the British government in the Sovereignty were then reduced to a comparatively helpless position. They accused Mr. Pretorius of having betrayed them, by agreeing with her Majesty's government to terms in which they were not included. He replied that he could do nothing for them unless they

chose to move across the Vaal, but there they would be welcomed and would have ground assigned to them. Many therefore crossed the river. Thus by successive migrations after the battle of Boomplaats and now after the Sand River convention, the Sovereignty was freed of the most violent antagonists of British rule, and a marked difference was thereafter discernible between the opinions and the conduct of the people north and south of the Vaal river. The assistant commissioners inflicted fines upon all who remained who could be proved to have ignored British authority, and by this means raised a sum of rather over £2,000.

It was at this time by no means certain whether the Sovereignty would be retained as a British dependency, or be given up. On the 21st of October 1851 Earl Grey had written to Sir Harry Smith that "its ultimate abandonment should be a settled point in the imperial policy." The assistant commissioners, however, were convinced that British authority could not be withdrawn without breaking faith with many people, both white and black, and they were doing their utmost to put things in such order that the secretary of state might be induced to reverse his decision.

Immediately after the Sand River convention was signed they made an attempt to open up negotiations with Moshesh. They invited him and Molitsane to meet them at Winburg on the 22nd of January, but both the chiefs made excuses for not appearing. Moshesh expressed himself desirous of a meeting, but submitted several reasons why he could not go to Winburg, and requested that the conference might take place at Mekuatling or Lishuane. The commissioners would not agree to this, lest they should seem at the outset to be willing to make any concessions demanded of them; but they postponed the meeting to the 30th, in order to give Moshesh time to consult his sub-chiefs, as he stated he wished to do. He and Molitsane still declined to appear in person, though they sent messengers with long and carefully drawn-up statements of all the important events that had

occurred in connection with their tribes during the preceding twenty years.

At length, however, Moshesh named as delegates his brother Moperi and his sons Molapo and Masupha, and a formal meeting was held at Winburg on the 7th of February. Molitsane appeared in person, and with him were his son Moiketsi and his nephew David Raliye. The reverend Mr. Daumas acted as interpreter. A lengthy discussion took place, at the close of which the commissioners stated the terms on which peace would be made. These were embodied in a document, which was signed by all the delegates on the 10th of February. In this agreement the Basuto and Bataung chiefs undertook to restore the balance of the plunder in their hands. The number of cattle to be given up was not, however, stated.

Immediately after the meeting Major Hogg went to Thaba Bosigo with the object of inducing Moshesh to fulfil the promises made by his delegates on his behalf. In an interview with the chief on the 12th he stated that after a thorough investigation of all that had taken place, he was of opinion that the grievances complained of by the Basuto were well founded, and he was therefore prepared to redress them. Moshesh expressed himself highly pleased with this admission, and on the 15th he and his son Letsie affixed their marks to the Winburg agreement.

On the 22nd of February Major Hogg met Moshesh again, at Bolokwane, near the Orange river. There were many Basuto present at this conference, which was held purposely to let all the people know the arrangements proposed by the commissioner and agreed to by the chief. Briefly stated, the offer made by Major Hogg was: to dismiss Major Warden, the British resident; to place Captain Bailie of the Fingo levies under arrest, to cause a thorough investigation into his conduct to be made, and to restore to their relatives certain Tembu children disposed of by him and Posĥuli; to consider the boundary line between the Lesuto and the Caledon River district, as laid down by Major Warden and confirmed

by Sir Harry Smith, to be no longer binding; to consider and treat the petty chiefs Poshuli and Morosi in future as subjects of Moshesh; to do away with all the boundaries proclaimed between the petty clans and the Basuto, retaining only the outer line as a division between Europeans and blacks; and, finally, to interfere no more in purely native quarrels, but to leave the contending parties to settle their own disputes. In return for all these concessions, Major Hogg merely asked that the Winburg agreement should be carried out, and that a new line between the Basuto and the Europeans in the Caledon River district should be made and respected by the chief and his people.

Moshesh declared that he was perfectly satisfied, but whatever his own feelings were, the Basuto tribe was not disposed to make the slightest sacrifice in order to restore tranquillity to the country. All accepted the concessions of the assistant commissioner as a matter of course, but none were willing to surrender the captured cattle or to make compensation from their own herds. And Moshesh certainly had no means of compelling them to do so, for his authority rested entirely upon public opinion.

Of all the chiefs known to us at that time he was the one who could least afford to disregard the inclinations of his subjects. Every other prominent native ruler, both along the coast and in the interior, governed by hereditary right, but Moshesh had little claim on that ground. His own father was still living, representatives of elder branches of his family were numerous. Like all the paramount chiefs of Bantu tribes, he was merely the head of a number of clans, each with very large powers of self-government. Every one of his sub-chiefs expected to be consulted on all matters of importance, and if his advice was neglected, gave no assistance to his superior. Such a position, always a weak one, was made doubly so in Moshesh's case by his filling it merely because the different sections of the tribe accepted him as their head. In agreement with them he was strong, in opposition to them he was powerless.

To carry out the Winburg agreement to the satisfaction of the assistant commissioners, it would have been necessary for Moshesh and Molitsane to give up several thousand head of cattle, together with at least a thousand horses, instead of which the two chiefs only sent in between them about two hundred cattle and a hundred and twenty horses, and these the most wretched animals in the country.

Still Moshesh continued to profess the strongest desire for peace and friendship with all men, and particularly with the British government. Mr. Owen wrote to him that he would not make any alteration in the boundary until the farmers' losses were compensated in full, and Moshesh then proposed that the farmers should go into his country, without giving any one but himself notice, and identify their cattle. The commissioner would not agree to this proposal, as he feared it would lead to disturbances, and it was also evident that the cattle were closely guarded in places difficult of access.

After this no further effort was made on either side towards the restoration of the stolen stock. On the 9th of June 1852 Major Hogg died suddenly in Bloemfontein, and Advocate J. W. Ebden, his successor as assistant commissioner, was not appointed until the 22nd of September. Mr. Owen, who during this period was left to act by himself, considered it useless as well as humiliating to correspond longer on the subject with the Basuto chief, in whose professions he put not the slightest confidence, and who he was convinced could not be induced to give up the booty without force.

During this time thefts continued, though occasional spasmodic efforts were made by Moshesh to suppress them. On one occasion he restored sixty stolen horses to their owner, and punished one of the thieves with death. But constant vigilance was not displayed to prevent such acts, and robbers generally were left unscathed.

Sikonyela, who had never ceased his plundering forays, now drew upon himself the vengeance of his enemies. In

May 1852 the district occupied by the Batlokua was overrun by a Basuto army under Moshesh in person, some fifty warriors were killed, immense herds of cattle were seized, and large quantities of grain were carried away or destroyed. Sikonyela, who had but one stronghold left, was compelled to sue for peace. Moshesh was not unwilling to try to convert his old enemy into an obedient vassal, and granted him terms which under the circumstances were exceedingly liberal.

Shortly after this the half-breeds of Carolus Baatje, having obtained a supply of ammunition from Major Warden, made a sudden raid into Molitsane's district and swept off three thousand head of horned cattle and two hundred and eighty horses, with which booty they got safely away. The issue of ammunition to these raiders was nearly the last act of Major Warden as British resident. It was in direct antagonism to the principles which actuated the imperial authorities at the time, and would have made his retirement necessary even if instructions had not already been received from England concerning his removal. On the 23rd of July he was succeeded by Mr. Henry Green, previously an officer in the commissariat department. An executive council was at the same time appointed. It consisted of the British resident as presiding officer and five members named by the high commissioner.

The raid by the Platberg half-breeds was avenged by the Basuto upon the Barolong. A strong force under Masupha fell upon Moroko's cattle posts and carried off a large booty.

At this stage Mr. Owen abandoned all hope of restoring order. In a report to the high commissioner he expressed an opinion that the Sovereignty could not be maintained with dignity without the presence of a considerable armed force, and unless this expense was incurred it should be abandoned.

Shortly after the assumption by Sir George Cathcart of the duties of high commissioner, he requested Mr. Owen to convene a meeting of representatives to ascertain the opinion

of the European inhabitants on the question whether Great Britain held the country with their concurrence or not. In every ward representatives were elected on the principle of manhood suffrage, and on the 21st of June they met in Bloemfontein. There were seventy-nine members present. They chose Dr. A. J. Fraser as chairman, and during three days deliberated on the important matters submitted to them. The conclusion which they arrived at was in favour of the retention of British authority.

The three years having expired for which the members of the legislative council had been appointed, they desired that a legislative assembly, chiefly elective and composed of one member for each fieldcornetcy and seat of magistracy, with an additional member for Bloemfontein, should be established in its stead. The only non-elective members they thought should be the civil commissioners, to whom they proposed to give deliberative power, but not votes. They desired that a recorder's court should be substituted for the court of combined magistrates.

An important question laid before the assembly by Mr. Owen was "whether the inhabitants of the Sovereignty would be willing to place themselves under a commando law to punish the aggressions of her Majesty's enemies, provided the policy of non-interference in the disputes of the native tribes were strictly adhered to, and with the proviso that the burghers should not be called out in any case except with the consent of the council?"

Sixty-nine votes were given in the affirmative, but with conditions attached. Thirty-five were in favour of it "provided the government would assist them with a sufficient number of troops." Thirty-four were in favour of it "provided the existing disputes with Moshesh were first settled, and that five hundred soldiers were permanently stationed in the Sovereignty."

A few members, representing the party which termed itself the philanthropists, maintained that it was the duty of Great Britain and of the European colonists to prevent

intertribal wars. The Sovereignty government, they admitted, had broken down in trying to keep peace among the clans along the Caledon, but that was because the mother country had not provided more soldiers and the farmers had not turned out in force to aid Major Warden. The consequence of non-interference, they asserted, would be the frequent precipitation of bands of fugitives upon the Europeans. It could never be supposed that a Christian community would attempt to force men, much less women and children, fleeing for their lives, to keep within a fixed boundary, without restraining their enemies. The system advocated by some, of receiving such fugitives, giving them small locations, imposing upon them a labour tax, and taking possession of the ground from which they had been driven, would never be allowed by England. Non-interference was thus not possible in practice.

This line of argument was that adopted of recent years by the missionaries with the weaker clans, but one searches in vain in the writings of those among the powerful tribes for similar views and expressions. It is observable also that some of those who, ten years earlier, were the advocates of the formation of great native states, were now the firmest upholders of the duty of Europeans to protect the weak clans against the strong.

During the session of the assembly Commandant-General Pretorius visited Bloemfontein, where he was received by the government with every mark of honour. At Mr. Owen's request he delivered an address to the representatives of the people, in which he counselled moderation and straightforwardness in all they did, but made no attempt to influence their decisions in any way.

It was now agreed by every one that nothing but physical force would bring the Basuto to terms. General Cathcart therefore resolved to visit the Sovereignty at the head of a strong body of troops, for the purpose of restoring British prestige. Having established a condition of apparent tranquillity and contentment on the eastern

colonial frontier, he prepared to carry out this project in the last months of 1852.

In November of this year a splendidly equipped force, consisting of nearly two thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry, with two field-guns, marched by way of Burghersdorp to the banks of the Caledon. The governor hoped that the mere presence of such a body of troops would enable him to settle everything to his satisfaction, without the necessity of having recourse to hostilities. In a message to Moshesh, he informed that chief that upon himself would depend whether he should be treated as an enemy or not. And in a proclamation which he issued before he left the colony he announced that he was not going to make war, but to settle all disputes and establish the blessings of peace.

The army crossed the Orange without any difficulty, as the river was low, and then marched along the Caledon. On the 2nd of December General Cathcart sent forward summonses to Moshesh, Molitsane, Sikonyela, Moroko, and Gert Taaibosch, to meet him at Platberg on the 13th, and at the same time he appointed a commission to examine into and report upon the number of cattle stolen and the question of the retention or alteration of Major Warden's boundary line. The assistant commissioners Owen and Ebden, and Mr. Green, the British resident, after devoting six days to the consideration of these matters, delivered a report, in which they estimated the losses sustained through the depredations of the Basuto and Bataung at £25,000, and recommended that a demand should be made upon Moshesh for ten thousand head of full-grown cattle and fifteen hundred horses as compensation. They further advised that the chief should be required to surrender five hundred stand of arms as a token of submission and desire for peace, and that the boundary line of Major Warden should not be disturbed.

On the morning of the 13th the army arrived at Platberg, and encamped at the Wesleyan mission station, which was found deserted by every one except the reverend Mr. Giddy.

Not one of the chiefs was there to meet the governor. Sikonyela sent an excuse that he dared not come, through fear of Moshesh. The Caledon being in flood, the Basuto chief could not attend had he wished to do so. In the evening two of his sons swam over, and they remained in the camp that night, but the governor declined to admit them to an interview. On the 14th Mr. Owen returned with Moshesh's sons to Thaba Bosigo, carrying a letter from General Cathcart declaring that the time of talking was past, and demanding the delivery of ten thousand head of cattle and one thousand horses within three days, under penalty of being attacked.

Besides this, Moshesh was called upon, under penalty of the destruction of his tribe at some future time, to comply with the following requirements of the governor:—

1. The restoration to Sikonyela of the cattle taken from him, and peace with that chief.

2. The restoration of Platberg to the people of Carolus Baatje.

3. Observance of the boundaries fixed by Sir Harry Smith.

4. Peace with all the neighbouring peoples, and the cessation on the part of the Basuto of being a nation of thieves.

On the 15th Moshesh visited the camp, and a conference took place between him and the governor, in presence of the principal officers attending the English general. Among these were the assistant commissioners Owen and Ebden, a brother of Lord John Russell acting as aide-de-camp, and the colonels Eyre, Cloete, and Bruce. Messrs. Casalis and Dyke accompanied the chief, the former of whom acted as interpreter. General Cathcart was unwilling to abate his demands. The chief, as usual, dwelt upon the blessings of peace, and stated that he had not power to collect as many cattle as were required in so short a time. He informed the governor in figurative language that an advance into the country would be resisted, as a dog when beaten will show

his teeth. He promised, however, to do his best to meet the demand made upon him, but all that he obtained by his visit to the governor was an extension of time by one day.

The Basuto as a tribe preferred a trial of strength to the surrender of so many cattle and horses. They could have collected three times the number in twenty-four hours had they been so disposed, but there were few among them willing to purchase peace at so high a price. Moshesh personally was in favour of yielding, for he dreaded a contest with the English general as the greatest of misfortunes. It might cause the dismemberment of his tribe, it certainly would bring loss to himself. And therefore he did all that was possible under the circumstances, with the result that on the 18th his son Nehemiah was able to deliver at the camp three thousand five hundred head of cattle. Moshesh, it may be, thought that these would be received as sufficient for the present, and that the balance would be allowed to stand over.

On the 17th General Cathcart sent a small supply of ammunition to Sikonyela, with a message that he would expect assistance from him in the event of hostilities with the Basuto. But he was unwilling to complicate matters by employing any other native forces, and he issued positive orders to Moroko to take no part in the war. Of the cattle brought in by Nehemiah, he gave a thousand head to Moroko, two hundred and fifty to Carolus Baatje, and two hundred and fifty to Gert Taaibosch, sending those chiefs with the whole herd to Bloemfontein, and thus getting them out of the way.

On Sunday, the 19th, as no more cattle had arrived, General Cathcart issued orders for his cavalry and a brigade of infantry to march to the ford of the Caledon opposite the mission station of Berea, and encamp there. In the evening of this day, Moperi, brother of Moshesh, and the reverend Mr. Maitin waited upon the governor, by whom they were politely received. Moperi assured General Cathcart that Moshesh was doing everything in his power

to collect the cattle required, and entreated him to suspend hostilities a little longer. He and the missionary left with the impression that their desire might possibly be acceded to; but they must have mistaken the governor's reply, for that night the final orders to advance were issued.

At daybreak on the morning of Monday the 20th of December 1852, the British forces, leaving the camp protected by a strong guard, crossed the Caledon at the ford which has ever since been known as Cathcart's drift. Between them and Thaba Bosigo lay the Berea mountain, a long, irregular, table-topped mass of rock with precipitous sides. The mountain was seen to be covered with thousands of cattle. The troops were formed in three divisions, the plan of action being that one of these should march over the mountain, and one on each side, so as to secure the herds, and then to meet in front of the great chief's residence.

The cavalry brigade was composed of men of the 12th lancers and Cape mounted rifles, and was about two hundred and fifty strong. It was under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Napier. This division was ordered to march round the northern base of the Berea, but it had not proceeded far when it was tempted by the sight of the cattle to ascend the hill. Officers and men alike held the Basuto military power in the lightest esteem, and regarded the march as a pleasant excursion in which they were likely to get a good quantity of spoil without any hard blows. And the morning was well advanced before they were undeceived, for they met no opposition until they were in possession of a large herd of cattle.

Up to this time the only Basuto encountered were a multitude of terror-stricken women and children fleeing with such of their household goods as they could hastily lay hands upon. But hardly had the cattle been turned to be driven down the hill towards the drift, when a force of about seven hundred Basuto and Bataung horsemen under Molapo and the sons of Molitsane, that had hitherto been unobserved, made a sudden charge upon the scattered troops.

All would have been lost but for the coolness and bravery of Colonel Napier, who collected a little band about him and tried to keep the enemy at bay until the stragglers could rally or escape. The cattle were rushing down the mountain, and lancers and riflemen were following them. One small party mistook a ravine behind the mission station for the path by which they had ascended, and found themselves surrounded by enemies when they reached the bottom.

The little band under the gallant colonel kept the main Basuto force at a respectful distance, but detached parties of light horsemen pursued the retreating troops. Twenty-seven lancers and five riflemen were cut off. Several were killed close to the mission station. Fortunately, intelligence of the disaster was conveyed in time to the camp, and a company of the 74th highlanders was sent to Colonel Napier's assistance, which enabled him to fall back without further loss. He reached the camp with a herd of four thousand head of horned cattle, besides a few horses and some sheep and goats. Only four Basuto fell in this engagement, though when he prepared his report the colonel was under an impression that a large number had been killed.

Another of the three divisions was under command of Lieutenant-Colonel Eyre. It consisted of two hundred and seventy-one men of the 73rd regiment, one hundred and two of the 43rd, ninety of the rifle brigade, thirteen artillerymen, twelve Cape mounted riflemen, and eleven of the 12th lancers, in all four hundred and ninety-nine rank and file, besides a few mounted Fingos to be employed as cattle herds. This division was under orders to march along the flat top of the Berea, driving the cattle before it, and effecting a junction with the other brigades before Thaba Bosigo.

On reaching the mountain where the path he had selected winds up it, Colonel Eyre found a Basuto force threatening to prevent his advance. The position occupied by the enemy was a strong one, but it was found possible to send detachments up in other places to turn it, so that the troops

reached the summit with very little loss. On the plateau they found some thirty thousand head of cattle, of which they took possession, but these immense herds were unmanageable, and much time was lost in vainly endeavouring to drive them onward. While the troops were thus engaged, Molapo's horsemen suddenly dashed upon them. The foremost men of the enemy were dressed in the uniforms of the lancers whom they had killed a couple of hours earlier, and carried their weapons, so that the soldiers mistook them for friends till they were close by. They cut off two or three men, and took Captain Faunce, an officer of the 73rd, prisoner.

All the cattle, except a herd of about fifteen hundred, were now abandoned, the brigade was called together and got into fighting order, and the onward march was resumed. But it was no longer the pleasant excursion that the soldiers had called it in the morning. The Basuto and Bataung under Molapo, seven or eight hundred strong, mounted on hardy ponies, and elated with their recent success, charged upon the detachment wherever the ground favoured them. The form and order of a body of disciplined troops were such, however, as to enable them easily to keep light cavalry at a distance, and about five o'clock in the afternoon Colonel Eyre effected a junction with the third division. The loss on the English side was five men killed and one officer made prisoner; of the Basuto eleven warriors were killed.

The remaining division was under command of General Cathcart in person. When it left the camp it consisted of rather less than three hundred troops, composed of a detachment of the 12th lancers, a detachment of Cape mounted riflemen, two companies of the 43rd, and some artillerymen with two field-pieces; but a little later in the day it was strengthened by another company of the 43rd, drawn from Colonel Eyre's brigade. It moved along the western and southern base of the Berea, and met with no molestation beyond an occasional shot fired from a distance, until about

two o'clock, when it halted near the mission station of Thaba Bosigo. Here the three columns should have formed a junction, but one of them had already fallen back to the camp, and another was still miles away endeavouring to secure cattle.

At Thaba Bosigo a force of six thousand horsemen had assembled, all well armed with European weapons. They were not, however, trained to act in concert, and were consequently at an enormous disadvantage in a pitched battle with European troops. They approached in dense masses, but few of them came within rifle range. The most daring body was led by Nehemiah, whose horse was shot under him. Very heavy firing was kept up on both sides for more than two hours, with hardly any result. Yet it was a terrible position that General Cathcart's little band was in. So vastly outnumbered was it that only bravery and discipline prevented Isandlwana being anticipated by a generation in South Africa.

About half past four in the afternoon a thunderstorm, such as at that season of the year is of frequent occurrence in the Lesuto, burst over Thaba Bosigo; and while it lasted the firing ceased. But as soon as the sun came out again, the dense masses of Basuto horsemen were seen advancing in greater strength and more perfect order than before. Just at this critical moment, however, Colonel Eyre's column made its appearance, and speedily effected a junction with the commander-in-chief.

As night was falling, General Cathcart took up a position at an abandoned kraal among rocks where it would be difficult to attack him. The enemy followed, still keeping up a heavy fire from a distance, and it was not until eight o'clock that the rattle of musketry ceased.

In this engagement the casualties on the English side were two officers—one of whom was a nephew of the duke of Wellington—and six privates wounded, making the whole day's losses thirty-seven killed and fifteen wounded. The Basuto loss in warriors was twenty killed and the same

number wounded. But this was not the whole, for a good many of their women were killed and wounded by our troops in the early part of the day. It is not the custom of these people to place their women in safety before an engagement, and it has often been found impossible to avoid killing them. On this occasion many of them fell under the fire of the artillery. Whether the others were mistaken for men, or whether they were shot down indiscriminately by soldiers of the divisions under Colonel Napier and Colonel Eyre when not under their officers' eyes, will never be positively known. General Cathcart believed the last supposition to be the correct one, and expressed his deep regret on account of it. Captain Faunce, who was made prisoner by Molapo's horsemen, was murdered in revenge by relatives of some of the women killed, and his body was afterwards horribly mutilated.

At daybreak on the morning of the 21st the general left the kraal where he had passed the night, and began his march back to the camp on the Caledon. A strong Basuto force marched in a parallel line along the top of the Berea to observe his movements, but did not attempt to molest him.

The night after the battle was one of anxiety for Moshesh as well as for General Cathcart. The troops had fallen back, and the dead soldiers were lying unburied where they fell, but Moshesh was wise enough to see that his army was not a match for even that little band which was bivouacked not far away, still less then for the enormous reserves that he knew the governor could bring against him. The cool determined stand of the British infantry against the overwhelming forces that threatened them had made a deep impression upon the Basuto. They had not expected to see an unbroken line of fire and steel, but a rabble of dismayed fugitives entirely at their mercy. Already Moshesh heard his people talk of abandoning the open country, betaking themselves with their belongings to the most inaccessible mountains, and there acting on the defensive only.

At midnight the chief sent two of his attendants for Mr. Casalis. Under the eye of the missionary—in his account of these events he does not say to his dictation, but that may be inferred—Nehemiah wrote in his father's name the most politic document that has ever been penned in South Africa. It is impossible to condense it or to paraphrase its terse expressions without marring its effect.

"THABA BOSIGO, Midnight,
"*20th December*, 1852.

"YOUR EXCELLENCY,—This day you have fought against my people, and taken much cattle. As the object for which you have come is to have a compensation for boers, I beg you will be satisfied with what you have taken. I entreat peace from you,—you have shown your power, you have chastised,—let it be enough, I pray you; and let me be no longer considered an enemy to the queen. I will try all I can to keep my people in order in the future.

"Your humble servant,
"MOSHESH."

It was some time before a messenger could be found who would venture near the English sentries, and when at length one left Thaba Bosigo with a flag of truce, General Cathcart was already retiring to his camp on the Caledon. The messenger followed and delivered the letter.

The English general, on his part, was not less anxious for peace than was Moshesh. He too had been deceived in the strength of the enemy, and he dreaded a war with a tribe so highly organised, so well armed, and with such strong natural fortresses. In his opinion there was nothing to be gained by such a war that could be placed in the balance against its difficulties and its cost. And so he eagerly availed himself of the opening for escape from a grave difficulty which Moshesh's letter afforded. It gave him the privilege of using the language of a conqueror, and in such language he declared that he was satisfied with the number of cattle captured, that he considered past

obligations fulfilled, and that he would send the army away and go back to the colony in a few days.

There was murmuring in the camp when this was known, for the fiery spirited among the officers and men were eager to avenge their fallen comrades and retrieve the check they had sustained. Colonel Eyre begged hard to be allowed to plant an ensign on Thaba Bosigo, or to perish in the attempt. Other officers spoke bitterly of the disgrace of retreating and leaving the people of the Sovereignty to their fate, after making demands upon Moshesh which were not complied with. Mr. Owen delivered a written protest in strong words against the cessation of hostilities under such circumstances. General Cathcart, however, was determined not to involve the empire in an expensive war, and so he proclaimed peace with the Basuto.

On the 24th Mr. Owen paid a visit to Moshesh at Thaba Bosigo. The chief received him with civility and respect, and expressed his joy that he was no longer regarded as an enemy of the queen. He directed his sons Nehemiah and Masupha with a party of men to accompany Mr. Owen and the reverend Messrs. Casalis and Dyke over the battlefield, where the bodies of the slain soldiers were sought for, and such as could be found were decently interred.

Three days after the conclusion of peace the camp was broken up, and the army began its return march down the Caledon. A garrison of three hundred men in all, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, was left to protect the Queen's fort in Bloemfontein. The Europeans in the Sovereignty were empowered to organise for their own defence in case the Basuto should attempt to overrun the country, and they were then left to take care of themselves as best they could. Before the end of the month the army had reached the Orange on its way back to the colony.

The consternation among the whites and those blacks who had aided the government was extreme. There was a great outcry about the disgrace to the empire of such a proceeding, but General Cathcart shut his ears to it all. Then

followed petitions, signed even by men of such tried attachment to the English government as Mr. J. I. J. Fick, begging for military protection, or that the inhabitants might be left without interference of any kind to settle matters and to defend themselves in their own way. The latter of these alternatives was what the imperial authorities were about to comply with, for as soon as the news of Berea reached England, the duke of Newcastle wrote to the high commissioner that "her Majesty's government had decided to withdraw from the Orange River Sovereignty." In Sir George Cathcart's despatches he described the encounter as a victory and his proclamation of peace as a satisfactory settlement, but the secretary of state was not deceived.

Yet it would be unjust to accuse the English minister of heartlessly leaving a few white people to the mercy of an opponent as strong as Moshesh, without looking at the question from his point of view also. In England it was generally believed that the war with the Basuto had been undertaken on behalf of the European settlers, and it was remembered that little more than four years had elapsed since a strong force had been moved to the Sovereignty to establish the queen's authority over the farmers. The opinion was freely expressed that they had got themselves into a mess, and ought to be left to get out of it as best they could, without expense to the British taxpayer. That the war had been undertaken by the representatives of the imperial authorities in opposition to the desire of the entire white population of the territory, a few missionaries and sympathisers with their views only excepted, was unknown in England. To conquer the Basuto would require many men and much treasure. The nation would be unwilling to bear the charge. The few English in the Sovereignty could be bought out. The farmers could return to the Cape Colony or go over the Vaal, if they could not take care of themselves. And so the ministry came to the conclusion that the best thing to do was to withdraw from the Sovereignty.

Immediately after the battle Moshesh sent messengers to the chiefs of the tribes far and near, to inform them that he had gained a great victory and had driven the English forces from his country. This version of what had taken place was universally credited, for it seemed to be verified by General Cathcart's speedy return to the colony. The reputation for power of the Basuto and their chief was from this date greatly enhanced among the neighbouring tribes, though it was believed that their success was due less to prowess than to some magic substance employed against the white men.

Moshesh next requested the missionaries to appoint a day of thanksgiving to God for the restoration of peace, and required his people to observe it in a devout manner. But before the services were held, all who had been present at Berea observed the ancient ceremony of standing in battle array in a stream into which their priests threw charms to prevent the ghosts of those they had killed working evil upon them. Thus, too, they believed that they pacified the shades of their ancestors, for these would be wroth if the ancient customs were not observed.

Moshesh, notwithstanding his patronage of the missionaries, had really lost none of his faith in the religion of the Bantu, and was as fearful of offending the mighty dead as the most ignorant of his followers could have been. He always maintained to his people that he was a favourite with the spirits of their ancestors, and under their special guidance. There was a long period of his life when the missionaries believed that his vigorous mind rejected the Bantu belief in witchcraft and charms, and that he merely professed before his subjects to be a conservative in these matters, from diplomatic views. He was at this time fond of quoting passages from the bible, of the historical portions of which he had acquired a very considerable knowledge. Like all other individuals of the Bantu race in South Africa, he had no difficulty in reconciling a belief in the existence of one supreme God with the existence of protecting ancestral

shades, but this great deity was to him a being who acted pretty much as mortals do, only with illimitable power. In his old age Moshesh was completely under the influence of Bantu priests, and as he at no time discarded them, it is not likely that he was ever troubled with feelings of scepticism. He showed himself to every one in the most advantageous light: to General Cathcart as a vanquished man begging for peace and friendship, to his fellow-chiefs in other parts of South Africa as a conqueror who had delivered his country from an invader, to the missionaries as a hopeful pupil, and to his people as a strict observer of their national customs.

Towards his neighbours in the Sovereignty he acted with greater moderation than might have been expected. The farmers on his border were subjected to many petty annoyances, but they were not driven from their homes, nor for many months were their herds molested. The Barolong under Moroko were permitted to retain possession of Thaba Ntshu, and were left undisturbed except by occasional thefts of cattle. The half-breeds were treated with equal consideration. Across the Orange, Morosi was restrained from plundering the people of Albert, who had suffered unceasingly from his depredations ever since the engagement at Viervoet.

This politic conduct of Moshesh and his people enabled the governor to affirm in his despatches that matters were in a satisfactory condition. Moroko rejected the small subsidy offered to him, and claimed restitution of all he had lost; Carolus Baatje acted in a similar manner; the farmers who had obeyed Major Warden's call to arms spoke sullenly and bitterly of the consequences of their loyalty; while General Cathcart was writing that all claims upon the British government had been sufficiently compensated and all wrongs had been redressed, that unless the colonists were the aggressors he anticipated such a degree of security and peace as had not been experienced since the establishment of her Majesty's rule in the Sovereignty.

Henceforth no interference was attempted by the government in matters solely affecting the coloured clans. Advice, indeed, was freely tendered to the different chiefs, but little or no notice was taken of it. They were left to arrange their relationship to each other as they chose, or as best they were able. The farmers were recommended to submit patiently to annoyances that could not be checked.

A few weeks after the battle of Berea the Korana captain Gert Taaibosch returned to the Lesuto border, bringing with him in addition to his own followers a party of vagrants whom he had collected beyond the Vaal. These vagabonds were all well mounted, and being expert cattle-lifters, their neighbourhood necessarily became a scene of disorder. Sikonyela, who was still brooding with all the bitterness of wounded pride over his defeat and humiliation by Moshesh in the preceding winter, at once joined his forces to those of Taaibosch, and together they commenced a series of raids upon the nearest Bataung and Basuto kraals.

Moshesh contented himself with remonstrances and appeals to his enemies to keep the peace. He was endeavouring to form a coalition of all the clans in and around the Lesuto under his own leadership, and was therefore doing whatever he could to prevent them wasting their strength against each other. But the views of Taaibosch and Sikonyela were too limited and their repugnance to control of any kind was too great to allow of their entering into such a plan.

It will be remembered that when the Bataung chief Makwana sold the country between the Vet and Vaal rivers to the farmers, he reserved for his people a location at the head of Coalspruit. There he had died, and there his son and successor Tulu with his people had ever since been living.

Tulu was too weak to cause uneasiness to any one, and was living in fancied security when, in April 1853, he was attacked without warning by Sikonyela and Taaibosch,

aided by a few renegade whites. The Bataung could make no resistance. They were despoiled of everything they possessed, and were obliged to abandon the location and take refuge with their kinsmen under Molitsane at Mekuatling.

The marauders next made a raid upon a chief named Witsi, who occupied the tract of country still known as Witsi's Hoek, on the Natal border, north of the Lesuto. This chief and his people at an earlier date formed part of a coast tribe that had been dispersed in the convulsions caused by Tshaka, and they had only been living a short time on the inland side of the mountains. The district in which they resided, indeed, had been given out in farms by the Sovereignty government, but the European occupants had been obliged to withdraw from it. The people of Witsi bore an evil reputation among their neighbours, European and coloured. The chief was not a vassal of Moshesh, though living in friendship with him and to some extent under his influence. The Korana and Batlokua raiders seized a large herd of cattle, but were pursued by the people they had plundered, who retook their stock and drove off the robbers.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

ABANDONMENT OF THE SOVEREIGNTY.

ON the 6th of April 1853 a commission under the great seal was issued to Sir George Russell Clerk, appointing him "special commissioner for the settling and adjustment of the affairs of the Orange River Sovereignty," in other words, he was sent out to withdraw British authority with the best grace possible. He arrived at Bloemfontein on the 8th of August.

Notwithstanding the efforts made by Adam Kok to keep the Griqua reserve intact, the village of Fauresmith—then generally called Sannah's Poort—had been founded early in 1850 on ground leased from a Griqua, and the district around it was practically as much in the European part of the Sovereignty as that around Bloemfontein. On the 29th of January 1850 Sir Harry Smith issued a proclamation that the farmers must withdraw from the inalienable Griqua territory on the expiration of their leases, but these had some thirty years yet to run. Many of the Griquas were desirous of selling their ground, and there was a strong party among them headed by Hendrik Hendriks, once secretary to the Griqua council, in opposition to Adam Kok on this very point. They maintained that it was unjust to prevent them from selling their farms when large prices were being offered, and thus in defiance of the prohibition land was constantly changing hands. This was one of the difficulties awaiting solution.

There had been a considerable increase in the European population of the Sovereignty during late years, its numbers being now about fifteen thousand; and there had been a

change in its constituents. In the five villages, particularly in Bloemfontein and Smithfield, many English traders and mechanics had settled. There were one hundred and thirty-nine Englishmen owning farms in the Sovereignty, but some of them were absentees. The British resident himself was the largest landowner in the country, and several other officials were in possession of enormous tracts of ground. According to a return compiled for the special commissioner, these hundred and thirty-nine Englishmen were the proprietors of two hundred and sixty-four farms, comprising two million four hundred and sixty-seven thousand seven hundred and sixty-four acres of land, so that as a body they were not free from the reproach which Sir George Clerk cast upon them of being mere speculators. A considerable number of individuals belonging to old colonial families had come in, while of the former residents many of the extreme anti-English party had moved over the Vaal.

The total number of farms for which certificates or titles had been issued was one thousand two hundred and sixty-five, and the extent of ground thus alienated was estimated at eleven millions of acres. The different reserves for coloured people covered about thirteen millions of acres, and it was supposed—for no survey had been made—that about eight millions of acres remained unappropriated.

The country at the time was really in a state of anarchy, though in Sir George Cathcart's despatches it was constantly represented that tranquillity and order had been restored. Under such circumstances the position of the special commissioner was most humiliating. Representing the imperial government, professing friendship for all with whom he came in contact, he saw his advice unheeded and his authority set at nought. Armed bands of blacks traversed the country as they pleased; a son of Molitsane made a raid upon some Fingos who had taken refuge at Winburg, and there was no way of punishing him; the Koranas, Batlokua, Bataung, and others plundered and destroyed whenever and wherever their inclinations led them. That

matters were not even worse was solely owing to the circumstance that a severe drought had destroyed the pasturage, so that it was difficult for mounted men to move about.

On the 9th of August 1853 a notice was issued by the British resident, under instructions from the special commissioner, calling upon the inhabitants of the Sovereignty to elect delegates for the purpose of determining upon a form of self-government. On the 5th of September the delegates met at Bloemfontein. They were ninety-five in number, seventy-six of them being Dutch South Africans, and nineteen Englishmen. In an address which he made at the opening of the session, Sir George Clerk informed them that "he had the instructions of her Majesty's government to direct them to prepare themselves for undertaking the government of the territory whenever British jurisdiction should be withdrawn."

Dr. Fraser was elected chairman by sixty votes against thirty-five divided among four others, and the deliberations commenced. It was at once evident that the delegates were not inclined to do as they were desired. On the 8th they appointed a committee of twenty-five to confer with the special commissioner, so that the others might return to their homes and only meet again to settle matters finally. By a vote passed without opposition they gave the committee instructions not to entertain any proposals for the formation of an independent government until the following matters should have been adjusted by her Majesty's special commissioner to their entire satisfaction:—

1. The settlement of the Griqualand question.

2. The adjustment of the boundary line between the Basuto territory and the Sovereignty (that is the line between the Orange and the Caledon).

3. The question of the interference of the British government between natives and the European inhabitants of the country.

4. A guarantee that the allies of the British government or persons from beyond the Vaal river should not molest

the inhabitants of the Sovereignty, more particularly in regard to confiscated farms.

5. Compensation for those who might find it necessary to leave the country and those who had sustained losses by war or otherwise.

6. The share justly belonging to the Sovereignty of the customs dues received at the ports of the Cape Colony and Natal, or the cession of a port in either of those colonies.

7. The complete or conditional absolution of the inhabitants from allegiance to the British crown.

8. The settlement of all disputes regarding boundaries of farms as yet undecided by the several land commissions.

9. The cancellation of all existing treaties with natives.

10. Permission to the future government to purchase munitions of war of all kinds in England or the British colonies, and a guarantee that no obstacle should be thrown in the way by the colonial governments to prevent such munitions of war from reaching the Orange River territory.

11. The refunding of all fines unlawfully imposed upon inhabitants of the Sovereignty, and the restoration of, or payment for, all farms unlawfully confiscated.

Some correspondence with Sir George Clerk followed, and the committee then separated. It met again on the 10th of November, when it decided upon the adoption of a constitution the same as that approved of by the delegates in June in the preceding year, *but under her Majesty's government.*

Sir George Clerk announced that as they were unwilling to take steps for the formation of an independent government, he would enter into negotiations with other persons. And then was seen the strange spectacle of an English commissioner of high rank and courteous demeanour addressing men who wished to be free of British control as the friendly and well-disposed inhabitants, while for those who desired to remain British subjects and who claimed that protection to which they believed themselves entitled, he had no sympathising word. In the change of phraseology which

took place with the change of policy, they had now become "the obstructionists."

At this stage Commandant Adriaan Stander, who had recently been living at the Marikwa, visited the Sovereignty, and rallied the republican party around him. Several of the elected delegates seceded, professing that they had only voted for the retention of the British government out of fear that the special commissioner's invitation was a device to entrap and then fine them. In a very short time addresses with nine hundred and fifty-nine names attached to them were presented to Sir George Clerk, offering to meet the wishes of the imperial government on the following conditions:—

1. The release of the inhabitants from her Majesty's authority.
2. The arrangement of matters concerning Griqualand.
3. The invalidation of all existing treaties with the surrounding tribes, and the non-interference of the British government between the burghers and the natives.
4. Compensation for confiscated farms and for fines unlawfully levied.
5. Permission to purchase munitions of war in England and all British colonies, and assurance that the same should be allowed to pass unhindered through the Cape Colony or Natal, as well as that a free passage should be allowed for all goods through those colonies to the territory.

The elected committee thereupon requested Dr. Fraser and the reverend Mr. Murray to proceed without delay to England, to lay their case before the imperial parliament, and to protest against the people of the Sovereignty being abandoned under the circumstances of the country.

As if to accentuate their despairing cry, just at this juncture Moshesh, in opposition to the advice and wishes of Sir George Clerk, crossed the Caledon at the head of a great army, and fell suddenly upon Sikonyela's stronghold. That chief was at the moment unprepared for defence, as he was not expecting to be attacked, and had only a few

warriors with him. His mountain fastness, though hitherto considered impregnable, was far from being such a formidable stronghold as Thaba Bosigo. There was but one narrow and steep path leading to its summit, but it was found possible to scale some of the precipices in the rear. The Basuto army attacked it in three divisions. While one division, under Masupha, stormed up the footpath, the others, under Moshesh and Letsie, scaled the precipices at different points, the warriors climbing over each other's shoulders.

On the tableland above, in a heavy storm of rain, a battle was fought which ended in complete victory for the Basuto. Sikonyela lost his eldest son Makŕtikiti and the bravest of his guard. Gert Taaibosch and the leading members of his band also fell in the engagement. The Batlokua chief, when all was lost, managed to conceal himself, and he lay in hiding for several days, while Moshesh remained on the mountain. During this time the Basuto scoured the district and seized the cattle, waggons, and everything else of value belonging to the Batlokua and Taaibosch's Koranas. When at length they left, Sikonyela crept from his hiding place, and with only sixty warriors at his back fled to Winburg.

As a man of note, the name of the once formidable Batlokua chief will henceforth disappear. The son of the terrible Ma Ntatisi was now struck down never more to rise to power. Sir George Clerk sent him to Bloemfontein, where he was provided with rations for himself and a few followers until the abandonment of the Sovereignty. Moshesh frequently invited him to return to his old residence, but his haughty spirit would not allow him to become a retainer of his ancient enemy. When he left Bloemfontein after a stay there of some months, it was to retire to the present district of Herschel, where he remained in obscurity until his death on the 20th of July 1856. His second son, Lehana by name, then became regent of that portion of the tribe which retired to Herschel, and continued to act as such during the minority of Ledingwana,

son of Makitikiti. This section of the Batlokua is now in Griqualand East.

Mota, brother of Sikonyela, with those members of the tribe who did not choose to follow their fallen chief, submitted to Moshesh for a time, then moved away to the district of Harrismith, and finally migrated to Zululand, where they are now to be found. The territory occupied by the conquered tribe was divided among several clans, subjects or vassals of the Basuto, Molapo and Molitsane obtaining the best portions of it.

This event, which to the European inhabitants was another proof of Moshesh's power and their danger, to Sir George Clerk was only an incentive to get away quickly.

In December he had a meeting at Jammerberg Drift with the Basuto chief and his eldest son Letsie. The farmers along the Warden line between the Caledon and the Orange had been invited to be present, and a good many of them attended. The special commissioner requested them and the chiefs to arrange another boundary, but said that he desired to be merely a witness of their proceedings. Moshesh replied that he thought the Orange river would be a good dividing line. After this there could be very little discussion, and nothing more was ever attempted by the special commissioner in this matter.

In the Cape Colony the announcement that the Sovereignty was about to be abandoned was received with great dissatisfaction. From all the important centres of population, petitions, numerously signed, were addressed to the queen, earnestly beseeching her Majesty to retain the country. One was from the presbytery of Swellendam, representing the Dutch reformed congregations of Swellendam, Caledon, George, Riversdale, Bredasdorp, Mossel Bay, Napier, Knysna, and Ladismith.

Very imprudently, some of these petitions were drawn up with a view to secure the co-operation of those well-meaning persons at home whose sympathies are easily roused on behalf of coloured races. In these, grotesque and frightful

pictures were drawn of the injuries inflicted by the farmers of the South African Republic upon the missionaries and black people there, and it was predicted that if the people of the Sovereignty were left to themselves they would behave in a similar manner. These petitions were made public through the colonial press, and tended very greatly to strengthen the republican party. There was a general cry of indignation from the farmers on both sides of the Vaal, coupled with a challenge for an impartial investigation of the events alluded to, and an expressed desire to be freed from all connection with persons who so "defiled" them. From the date of the publication of these documents a majority of the inhabitants of the territory were in favour of self-government, and the committee which had been elected no longer represented the people.

Sir George Clerk had made himself acquainted with the recent transactions beyond the Vaal, and knew how distorted the assertions of ill-treatment of the blacks by the emigrant farmers really were. The British and foreign anti-slavery society, the aborigines protection society, the London missionary society, the Wesleyan missionary society, and the peace society, without any hesitation or scruple accepted as correct the version of occurrences sent home by the missionaries, and besought the duke of Newcastle to interfere. The members of these great societies do not seem to have reflected that though they had an undoubted right to ask for the very closest investigation that could be made, ordinary justice demanded that the charges should be proved before they were entitled to condemn the farmers as they did. The secretary of state probably viewed the matter in this light, for his instructions to Sir George Clerk to remonstrate with the Transvaal authorities were conveyed in very weak language.

The special commissioner, however, apart from positive instructions, felt it his duty to look closely into this matter. One of the first documents put into his hands after his arrival in the Sovereignty was a memorial from certain missionaries,

and if the views expressed in it were well founded, he considered that the imperial government ought to be made acquainted with the facts. This memorial had its origin in a missionary meeting held at the reverend Holloway Helmore's station Likatlong, at the junction of the Hart and Vaal rivers, on the 11th of July 1853. The reverend Robert Moffat, of Kuruman, presided at the conference. The missionaries who took part were those of the London society labouring with the Griquas at Griquatown and Philippolis and with the Batlapin at Kuruman, Taung, and Likatlong; of the Paris society labouring at Motito; and of the Berlin society labouring with the Koranas at Pniel and Bethany. Among them were some men of undoubted ability, the tenor of whose lives commanded the respect of all well-thinking persons, and whose opinions were entitled to be taken into the most careful consideration.

They resolved "that a memorial be drawn up touching upon the state and prospects of the Transvaal natives and the missions established among them, and that a deputation consisting of the reverend Messrs. Moffat, Inglis, and Solomon be appointed to wait upon Sir George Russell Clerk, her Majesty's special commissioner, to present the memorial to him."

In this document the missionaries expressed their satisfaction at the appointment of a commissioner to investigate matters. They complained of the conduct of the farmers towards the blacks and of the destruction of five missionary stations, four of the London society's and one Wesleyan. They stated it to be their "firm conviction that the attacks were unprovoked on the part of the natives, and could be traced to no other sources than the love of plunder, the lust of power, and the desire of obtaining constrained and unpaid labour on the part of the boers." They spoke of the banishment of the reverend Messrs. Edwards and Inglis "on the most flimsy pretexts," and the destruction or sacrifice of much missionary property. They stated that "the whole system pursued by the boers towards the tribes under their control

was reducing them all to a state of servitude which could not be distinguished from slavery." They complained of the permission given by the convention to the farmers to purchase munitions of war, while these were withheld from the blacks. They "could not too earnestly deprecate the abandonment by her Majesty's government of the Orange River Sovereignty," and they feared a general war resulting from a combination of the blacks against the emigrant farmers.

Shortly after the receipt of this memorial by Sir George Clerk, Commandant Scholtz visited Bloemfontein. The special commissioner caused the document to be translated into Dutch, and requested him to reply to the charges made in it. On the 6th of September the commandant delivered his statement to Mr. Owen.

He expressed "astonishment and regret that such unfounded assertions could be brought forward." He knew of no mission station destroyed by the farmers, but he was aware that the reverend Mr. Ludorf had abandoned his charge, that the reverend Messrs. Inglis and Edwards had been expelled from the republic, and that the tribe with which the reverend Dr. Livingstone had been labouring had been defeated in an engagement brought on by themselves.

He denied that any natives had been wantonly attacked, or that any tribe whatever had been assailed for the sake of plunder. The people with whom the farmers had been fighting were living on ground taken by the emigrants from Moselekatse, they were subjects of the emigrant government, and were required to perform service instead of paying taxes; there were also many persons apprenticed to individual farmers, but there were no slaves held by the emigrants. Every facility would be granted if the British government chose to send a commission of inquiry to find out the truth.

As for the case of the reverend Messrs. Inglis and Edwards, he referred to the records of their trial. He had heard that Mr. Edwards' station had been plundered by a

party of Griqua hunters and by a band of deserters from her Majesty's army. The farmers had nothing to do with it. From Dr. Livingstone's station he himself had brought away two immense firelocks and a gunsmith's outfit, but he considered that he was justified in doing so. He was not aware of any combination of black people against the emigrant farmers, nor was he apprehensive of any, "should the missionaries not excite them against his countrymen." And lastly, the conduct of the missionaries had been the cause of a great deal of mischief, and their interference in matters outside of their proper sphere of labour would no longer be permitted in the republic.

Here were two conflicting statements based on the same facts. Further inquiry brought to light that much of the difference between them arose from the various interpretations given to the word slavery.

(*a*) Was a clan which agreed with the republican government to contribute a stated amount of labour yearly, in return for the use of ground on which to live, in a condition of slavery?

(*b*) Certain farmers had leased ground to individual natives in consideration of receiving the service of their families at times when work was pressing. The system undoubtedly was a pernicious one, for tenants of this kind lived as a rule by plundering their landlords' neighbours. But that was not the question. It was, are such tenants in a condition of slavery?

(*c*) Natives wandering about in idleness, with no visible means of subsistence and not able to give a satisfactory account of themselves, destitute persons, orphan children, and sometimes children taken as were those from the Bakwena and afterwards unclaimed, were apprenticed to farmers for a term of years, without their consent being required. They received wages, and, with hardly an exception, were well cared for, though they were never regarded as the social equals of their employers, the feeling towards them being identical with that of an English squire towards

his dependents in olden times. Were they in a condition of bondage?

The missionaries declared all these to be in a state of servitude indistinguishable from slavery. The farmers denied this, and asked whether white people in England under the same circumstances were not termed free.

It was ascertained that there were in very truth numerous individuals along the western border of the republic in a condition of slavery, in the sense that their persons and everything they acquired were throughout life entirely at the disposal of others. These people were the Balala. They were the remnants of tribes broken by war in former years, and their owners were the same Betshuana who, according to the missionaries, were being oppressed by the farmers. The tendency of things under the emigrant government was to free the Balala from bondage, by giving them rights in property and control over their families and their persons, though without allowing them to become vagrants. This, at any rate, was something to weigh against the strict treatment to which the other natives were subject, though the missionaries had not taken it into consideration.

There were instances of real oppression of blacks by white men, but they were by no means numerous. One would not be justified in terming the farmers a race of oppressors on account of them any more than in terming the inhabitants of London a race of pilferers on account of the pickpockets in that city. These instances of oppression were made possible by the feebleness of the republican government, and the way to prevent them would be to strengthen that government. The missionaries, with the most upright intentions, were really advocating the destruction of all authority. The emigrant government could not exist if the tribes living on its soil were independent of its control, those tribes could not have been there at all if it had not been for the conquest of the Matabele by the farmers, and it did not seem unreasonable, therefore, that they should be required to pay a moderate tribute.

As for the differences of opinion between the emigrants and the missionaries, it was to be regretted that they did not all think alike; but the existence of those differences would not warrant the British government in incurring the responsibility of keeping possession of distant and useless territory. If the missionary contention was correct, and all men are by nature equal, education and the belief in Christianity creating the existing difference between them, the farmers, in despite of themselves, would soon be compelled to alter their views. If, on the other hand, the farmers' contention was correct, and there are differences in the intellectual capacities of races which mark some as inferior to others, the best guarantee of the mild and just treatment of the lower race would be in securing the friendship of the higher.

The special commissioner, therefore, took no further action with regard to the missionary memorial.

On the 19th of January 1854 he published a notice inviting those persons who were prepared to form an independent government to meet in Bloemfontein on the 15th of February.

On that day two hostile committees assembled. One, under the presidency of Mr. Josias Philip Hoffman, a farmer who had been residing at Jammerberg Drift since 1843, entered into negotiations with the special commissioner.

The other was the remnant of the committee appointed by the delegates in September 1853, now reduced by the absence of Dr. Fraser and by secession to thirteen members. Among them were the representatives of the Winburg loyalists, Commandant Wessels, J. van Rensburg, and J. Vergottini, true to their political creed to the very last. They passed resolutions declaring themselves in permanent session, and that any dealings which the special commissioner should have with any other body would be null and void, as they only had been properly elected and represented the people. On the 16th Sir George Clerk wrote to Mr. H. J. Halse as

the chairman, "dissolving the committee in consequence of unauthorised proceedings, and recommending to such members of it as had not seceded to agree with those persons who, under his authority, were then engaged as representatives of a majority of the inhabitants in carrying out the intentions of her Majesty's government in regard to the territory."

The "obstructionists" then announced their intention to set at defiance any government that might be established in independence of the queen of England. Those of them who were of English blood declared that nothing short of an act of parliament should deprive them of their rights as British subjects. Those who were of Dutch descent indignantly exclaimed that after having adhered to the British government through weal and woe, and having thereby incurred the wrath of their republican fellow-countrymen, the special commissioner was now about to subject them to those whose friendship they had forfeited. They would nail the British ensign festooned with crape half-mast high, they declared, and hold out until the British parliament should decide their fate. Equally violent resolutions were adopted by a meeting held at Smithfield a few days later, when a "committee of safety" was elected with acclamation.

From men labouring under such excitement, a dignified submission to the inevitable was not to be expected. A report had within the last few days been circulated of the discovery of gold in the neighbourhood of Smithfield, and the remnant of the old committee now wrote to the special commissioner begging him to delay proceedings until it should be seen whether there might not be a large influx of diggers. The object was to gain time for Messrs. Murray and Fraser to bring the matter before the house of commons, and for the Cape parliament, which was shortly to meet, to express an opinion whether the territory could not be annexed to the old colony. Sir George Clerk replied that the discovery of a gold field, no matter what its effects might be, would not alter the resolution of the imperial government. Indeed, though it was not then known in South Africa, a royal

proclamation had already been signed—30th of January 1854—"abandoning and renouncing all dominion and sovereignty over the Orange River territory."

Gold had been freely employed to allay the spirit of resistance. Under the name of compensation for losses occasioned by the change of government, large sums were expended. The claimants for losses sustained through the robberies of the Basuto had a twelvemonth before received two shillings and three pence in the pound, being the amount raised by the sale of the cattle obtained from Moshesh before and at Berea. Sir George Clerk gave them seven shillings and nine pence in the pound more. No less a sum than £33,744 was expended in this manner. The arrears of salary due to the civil servants were also paid out of imperial funds, £48,691 in all having been drawn from the British treasury to meet the expenses connected with the abandonment of the Sovereignty. By these means the number of "obstructionists," or loyalists as they termed themselves, was so reduced that those who still held out were rendered powerless.

With the "well-disposed" assembly the special commissioner soon came to terms. On the 17th of February he laid before the members a draft of a convention containing ten articles, in accordance with previous arrangements. The assembly then deliberated on the articles in order. The first was agreed to without change. The second read: "The British government has no alliance whatever with any native chiefs or tribes to the northward of the Orange river, with the exception of the Griqua chief Captain Adam Kok." The assembly was desirous of adding the words "and shall hereafter make no treaties with them." The special commissioner agreed to add "and her Majesty's government has no wish or intention to enter hereafter into any treaties which may be injurious or prejudicial to the interests of the Orange River government."

The assembly desired information concerning the old treaties with Moshesh. Sir George Clerk replied in writing:

"War between two powers breaks all pre-existing treaties. The British government has no treaty with Moshesh."

Instead of the third article as originally drafted, the assembly desired to substitute another of a different nature; but upon Sir George Clerk engaging to use his best endeavours to gain Adam Kok's consent to a new treaty in conformity with their proposals, the draft was approved of.

Some of the other articles were slightly modified, and the ninth on the original draft was embodied in the fifth; but no alterations of importance were made.

The arrangements having been completed, on the 23rd of February 1854 the convention was signed in the little building which now forms the vestibule of the museum at Bloemfontein, by Sir George Russell Clerk, as her Majesty's special commissioner, and the delegates for the district of Bloemfontein, Gerrit Johannes du Toit, Jacobus Johannes Venter, and Dirk Johannes Krafford, for the district of Smithfield, Josias Philip Hoffman, Hendrik Johannes Weber, Petrus Arnoldus Human, and Jacobus Theodorus Snyman, for Sannah's Poort, Gerrit Petrus Visser, Jacobus Groenendaal, Johannes Jacobus Rabie, Esias Rynier Snyman, Charl Pieter du Toit, and Hendrik Lodewyk du Toit, for the district of Winburg, Frederik Pieter Schnehage, Matthys Johannes Wessels, Cornelis Johannes Frederik du Plooy, Frederik Pieter Senekal, Petrus Lafras Moolman, and Johannes Izaak Jacobus Fick, and for the district of Harrismith, Paul Michiel Bester, Willem Adriaan van Aardt, Willem Jurgen Pretorius, Jan Jurgen Bornman, and Adriaan Hendrik Stander.

In the first article of the convention the special commissioner guaranteed, on the part of her Majesty's government, the future independence of the country and its government, and that its inhabitants should be free. The second article has already been quoted. The third provided for a modification of the treaty between the British government and Adam Kok, and for the removal of all restrictions preventing

Griquas from selling their lands. The fourth provided that no vexatious proceedings should be adopted by the new government towards those persons who had been loyal to her Majesty. The fifth provided for the extradition of criminals and for common access to courts of law. The sixth provided that certificates of marriage issued by proper authorities should mutually be regarded as legal. The seventh prohibited slavery or trade in slaves in the territory. The eighth gave the new government the right to purchase supplies of ammunition in any British possession in South Africa, and included a promise by the special commissioner to recommend to the colonial government that privileges of a liberal character in connection with import duties should be granted. And the ninth provided for the stationing of a consul or agent of the British government near the frontier of the Cape Colony to promote mutual facilities and liberty to traders and travellers.

A few days later some other matters were arranged, and a memorandum relating to them was signed by the special commissioner. It provided for the gift by her Majesty to the new government of three thousand pounds sterling, to be distributed among persons who had suffered special hardship under the late administration; for arbitration concerning disputed claims as to the extent of farms on the Basuto line; for indemnification by the British government in cases where unjust appropriations had been ratified by British authority; and for the presentation to the new government of the Queen's fort and certain public buildings.

While the negotiations were proceeding, Adam Kok visited Bloemfontein and had an interview with the special commissioner. The Griqua captain was understood as having consented to allow the sale of land in the reserve, but he afterwards denied that he had done so. It was arranged that the British resident should proceed in a few days to Philippolis to confer with him and his council upon all the questions requiring settlement. Accordingly on the 1st of March Mr. Green arrived at the Griqua village, and laid

before Kok's government the proposals of the burgher assembly in the form of a treaty, which he requested the captain and his council to sign.

It provided that the Griquas should have the right to sell their farms when they felt so disposed, but only through an agent of the British government; that persons of European descent purchasing farms in the Griqua reserve should become subjects of the new government; that Captain Kok should retain authority over his own subjects in the reserve, except on the farm on which the village of Fauresmith was built, where a landdrost should be stationed by the new government; that Adam Kok should continue to be paid from the imperial treasury during his lifetime the sum of £300 a year, as stipulated in his agreement with Sir Harry Smith; that all Griquas who lost farms in the territory between the Riet and Modder rivers by the agreement with Sir Harry Smith should be paid for them at once by the imperial government at rates varying from £37 10*s.* to £187 10*s.* each, according to their value; and that if at any future time Kok and his people should desire to move over the Orange river into the Cape Colony, the British government would afford them every facility to do so.

The Griqua council refused its assent to the first article, upon which Mr. Green informed them in writing that the special commissioner had declared the sales legal; but in consequence of their refusal "to work with his Excellency for the public good, the offer of payment which he had made for lands beyond the Riet river was withdrawn, as the object in offering it—the preservation of peace—would probably be frustrated through the unsettled state in which the land tenures must be left in consequence of their resolution."

On the 7th of March the missionary at Philippolis wrote in Adam Kok's name to Sir George Clerk that "the most important point of these proposals was that the restriction preventing sales of farms in the inalienable territory should be removed. He had brought this point before his people, and his council had frequently had it under their consideration,

but the resolve was that they could not give their consent to such a proposal. It was not a modification but a reversal of the existing treaty, the leading principle of which was that the inalienable territory should remain for the use of the Griqua people." At the same time the writer desired Sir George Clerk to compensate individual Griquas for all claims they might advance to farms between the Riet and Modder rivers, that is the alienable territory of Sir Peregrine Maitland.

Before the departure of the special commissioner from Bloemfontein, Moshesh visited that town, and was received in the most friendly manner by the members of the provisional government. At a public dinner he made a speech that would have been creditable to an educated and Christian ruler. He was on the most friendly terms with Moroko, who accompanied him, and he made liberal offers, though without effect, to Sikonyela. Sir George Clerk spoke to him of a British officer being stationed on the border as a channel of communication between the colonial government and the heads of the communities north of the Orange. Moshesh desired that he might be placed in the Lesuto, but did not press the matter. He inquired if the Warden line was still considered his boundary, and was requested by the commissioner not to speak of it—"it was a dead horse that had long been buried, to raise it would be offensive." Thus the Basuto chief was led to believe that the line was not considered binding by the imperial government, while the farmers had every reason to believe that it was.

On the 11th of March the flag of England was hoisted for the last time over the Queen's fort, but only to be saluted. When it was lowered that of the new republic took its place, and the special commissioner, the troops, and the British officials were leaving Bloemfontein. Just as they set out a soldier suddenly dropped down dead, and they were obliged to halt until the corpse was buried in the military cemetery on the hill just behind the fort. Moshesh

and the other chiefs accompanied them the first stage of the journey towards the Cape Colony. Then in apparent friendship the commissioner, the chiefs, and the members of the new government bade each other farewell, and the farmers and Basuto were left to settle as they could the relation in which they were to stand to each other.

At Philippolis Sir George Clerk remained some time, vainly endeavouring to induce Adam Kok to come to terms. Individual Griquas were anxious to sell ground for which they had little or no use, and individual farmers were ready to buy it. There was no enforcement of law or order in the district. Under these circumstances, the commissioner said, it was useless trying to retain the reserve intact. It would be better to legalise the sales than to have the district filled with people, Europeans and Griquas, setting him and his council at defiance. But the captain would not yield. Sir George Clerk then told him that the treaty upon which he based his pretensions would be set aside. The captain asked him to state that in writing, but the commissioner declined to do so. On another occasion Kok pressed for compensation for farms claimed by his people outside the reserve, which had been allotted by the Sovereignty government to burghers. The commissioner stated that he would make liberal compensation if the Griqua government would ratify the sales which were being made in defiance of it. But arguments, threats, and promises were alike wasted upon the captain, and the commissioner was obliged to leave the complicated Griqua question for solution by the new government.

Meantime the delegates, Messrs. Fraser and Murray, had arrived in England. On the 16th of March they were admitted to an interview with the duke of Newcastle, who informed them that it was too late to discuss the question of the abandonment of the Sovereignty. In his opinion, the queen's authority had been extended too far in this country. It was impossible for England to supply troops to defend constantly advancing outposts, especially as

Capetown and the port of Table Bay were all she really required in South Africa.

The delegates then tried to get the question discussed in the house of commons. At their instance Mr. C. B. Adderley, on the 9th of May, moved an address to her Majesty, praying that she would be pleased to reconsider the order in council renouncing sovereignty over the Orange River territory. In his speech he confined himself chiefly to the question whether it was legal for the crown to alienate British territory and absolve British subjects from their allegiance, without the consent of parliament. Of the advantage of retaining the country he said but little.

A few members spoke on the government side, among them being the attorney-general. All of them regarded the abandonment as expedient and perfectly legal. Sir John Pakington and Sir Frederick Thesiger thought it would have been better if the legislature had been consulted, but concurred in the expediency of the abandonment.

Being without a single supporter, Mr. Adderley then withdrew his motion.

CHAPTER XLIX.

EVENTS NORTH OF THE VAAL FROM 1851 TO 1854.

On the 9th of September 1851 Mr. A. W. J. Pretorius addressed a letter from Magalisberg to Major Warden, in which the man for whose apprehension the sum of two thousand pounds was still offered announced that at the request of Moshesh and other chiefs, as well as of many white inhabitants, he had been instructed by the council of war and a large public meeting to proceed to the Sovereignty, and there devise measures for the restoration of peace and the prevention of such ruin as the Cape Colony then exhibited. The letter concluded with the statement that it was the wish of the emigrants beyond the Vaal to arrive at a good understanding with the British government, respecting which further announcements would be made on the arrival of the writer in the Sovereignty.

Since the battle of Boomplaats Mr. Pretorius had abstained from interference in matters south of the Vaal, and had confined himself to requesting that the imperial government would send out two thoroughly impartial men to investigate the causes of discontent among the farmers of the Cape Colony and the proceedings of the emigrants. He believed that if this was done, the justice of their cause would be so apparent that their independence would be recognised. But now the condition of affairs in the Sovereignty seemed to invite a bolder course.

A few weeks later the reverend Mr. Murray paid a visit to Potchefstroom, where he met Mr. Pretorius and most of the influential men of that district. They

informed him that there was no general desire to interfere in matters beyond their border, but that the emigrants were anxious to enter into a treaty with England by which their independence would be secured, and thought that a favourable time had arrived for obtaining what they wished.

On the 4th of October Mr. Pretorius wrote again to Major Warden, stating that the emigrants had long desired to enter into a lasting treaty of peace with the British government, and that he, with two others named F. G. Wolmarans and J. H. Grobbelaar, had been appointed by the council of war and "the public" to proceed to the Sovereignty and treat for the same. They did not intend to leave until they had consulted further with the landdrost and heemraden of Potchefstroom and with "the public." They therefore sent this intelligence by two messengers, and hoped to receive a reply that the British government was disposed to meet their wishes.

On receipt of this letter Major Warden reported to the high commissioner that the fate of the Sovereignty depended upon the movements of a proscribed man. Moshesh would not probably make any further hostile movements until he could rely on assistance from Pretorius, who, on the other hand, would not decide upon anything before receiving an answer from the high commissioner. Mr. Murray had informed him that he believed the letter of the 4th of October correctly represented the desires of the Transvaal people. At any rate, time would be gained by corresponding with the delegates, and therefore he was about to write to them.

On the 10th of October he replied that the "emigrant farmers beyond the Vaal river having communicated to him in writing, through them, their desire to come to a friendly understanding with the British government, he begged to inform them that his position precluded him from interfering in political matters beyond the limits of the Sovereignty. It would, however, afford him much pleasure to forward to his

Excellency the high commissioner any communications coming from them, and which would at all assist in bringing about the objects the emigrant farmers had in view. He would suggest that whatever propositions they might wish to make for the consideration of government should be transmitted to his address, and they would be duly forwarded to his Excellency. He trusted they might be such as could be entertained by him. In conclusion, he had to add that while the British government was ever desirous to cultivate the friendship of all, it would never tolerate uncalled-for interference in any portion of the queen's dominions."

Sir Harry Smith approved of the course adopted by Major Warden, and informed him that Major W. S. Hogg and Mr. C. Mostyn Owen, two gentlemen who had recently been appointed assistant commissioners, and who held large powers, would proceed to the Sovereignty with as little delay as possible for the purpose of examining into and arranging matters.

The assistant commissioners reached Bloemfontein on the 27th of November, and the objects of their mission were at once made known to Mr. Pretorius. On the 11th of December he wrote from Magalisberg, desiring to know when they would be prepared to commence negotiations, and where the delegates would have an opportunity to meet them. He desired that the place selected might be nearer the Vaal river than Bloemfontein, so that they could confer with each other in security. On behalf of the delegates he guaranteed to the assistant commissioners complete safety. He trusted that all prejudices which might have been entertained against the emigrants would be wholly set aside, so that in candour and confidence a good understanding might be established.

To this communication a verbal reply was sent back by the messengers of Mr. Pretorius, to the effect that arrangements would be made as soon as possible, that the assistant commissioners had other pressing duties to perform which

must first be attended to, and that the place of meeting would be selected in accordance with the desires of the delegates.

The assistant commissioners then made a minute inquiry into the condition of affairs. The imperial government had resolved in the most decided manner not to permit any further extension of the British dominions in South Africa. It was therefore a mere matter of form to acknowledge the independence of the emigrants beyond the Vaal, as British authority had never been established there. But they reported that in their opinion very considerable benefits would arise from such an acknowledgment.

1. It was the only way to secure the friendship of the Transvaal emigrants.

2. It would detach them from the disaffected emigrants in the Sovereignty.

3. It would prevent their alliance with Moshesh, which that chief was seeking.

4. The Transvaal emigrants, through their delegates, of their own free will offered to bind themselves to certain conditions, such as the prohibition of slavery and the delivery of criminals, which otherwise could not be enforced.

On the 23rd of December, therefore, the assistant commissioners issued from Bloemfontein a public notice that they consented to receive a deputation from the Transvaal emigrants appointed to make certain friendly proposals to the government, and at the same time they published a proclamation of Sir Harry Smith, reversing the outlawry of Mr. Pretorius and withdrawing the offer of rewards for the apprehension of all who had been proscribed. The assistant commissioners added the following paragraph: "That the emigrants in times past have suffered grievances no reasonable person can deny; that they, in their turn, have committed many unjustifiable acts is equally certain. The assistant commissioners express a hope that this act of grace may be a stepping stone to a rational and permanent

understanding, which may tend to promote the happiness of all, and lead to a general reconciliation."

It was arranged that the conference should take place on the 16th of January 1852, at the farm of Mr. P. A. Venter, near the junction of Coal Spruit with the Sand river. Of the Transvaal emigrants, the section that adhered to Commandant Hendrik Potgieter was unrepresented. The other section was not represented in what under ordinary circumstances would be considered the proper manner, namely, by persons deputed by the volksraad or the government. Its deputies were chosen by a council of war, and approved of at public meetings. The cause of this was the violent party feeling that then prevailed.

When Mr. Pretorius, early in 1848, went to reside at Magalisberg, the old jealousy between him and Mr. Potgieter was revived. A few months later, when he was preparing to expel the British resident from the Sovereignty, he sent to ask assistance from Mr. Potgieter's adherents. The volksraad met at Ohrigstad, took the question into consideration, and refused its aid. In the following year, 1849, at a general meeting of Mr. Potgieter's partisans, it was resolved:—

1. That the volksraad should be the supreme legislative authority of the whole country.

2. That all officials should be appointed by the volksraad and be subject to its instructions.

3. That Ohrigstad should be the capital of the whole country. (This was shortly afterwards rescinded, and Lydenburg was declared to be the capital.)

4. That Mr. A. H. Potgieter should retain the office of chief commandant during his life.

The adherents of Mr. Pretorius were dissatisfied with the last arrangement, and pressed their objections with such force that in January 1851 the volksraad, with a view of putting an end to the dissensions, resolved to create four commandants-general, who should be equal in rank and independent of each other. The four appointed were:—

A. H. Potgieter for Zoutpansberg, Rustenburg, and Potchefstroom.

A. W. J. Pretorius for Rustenburg and Potchefstroom, each individual in these districts being left at liberty to choose which of the commandants he would serve under.

W. F. Joubert for Lydenburg.

J. A. Enslin for the western border.

Instead of allaying strife, this arrangement tended to increase it, and the adherents of the two most prominent commandants-general were at this time so embittered against each other that one party was almost certain to disapprove of any proposal made by the other. Mr. Pretorius, therefore, took no steps to convene the volksraad and obtain its authority for what he was doing. Commandant-General Joubert acted with him. Commandant-General Enslin was suffering from the illness of which he died a few weeks later.

About three hundred Transvaal emigrants accompanied the delegates to the place of meeting. The disaffected farmers of the Sovereignty mustered to the number of about a hundred, in hope of preventing any agreement being made in which they were not also included. Moshesh, who realised that if the interests of the Transvaal were separated from those of the opponents of the government in the Sovereignty, he had committed a great blunder, sent his principal councillor with a few attendants to watch the proceedings and bring him a report. Nearly all the traders in the country were there also. The assistant commissioners went to the meeting with only an escort of five lancers.

On their arrival they learned that a notorious criminal named Adriaan van der Kolff was present. This man, once church clerk at George, was a European adventurer who had for some months been the head of a band of Basuto and Koranas that had plundered the adherents of the English government far and wide. In communicating with Europeans he termed himself Moshesh's general, but to the Basuto and Bataung he represented himself as the agent of

Mr. Pretorius. This scoundrel had not long before broken out of the prison at Potchefstroom, so that he was liable to be arrested on both sides of the Vaal, yet so strong was the bond which held together the opponents of British rule, that he could move about freely among the disaffected Sovereignty farmers.

Major Hogg made it a preliminary to further action that Mr. Pretorius should cause Van der Kolff to be arrested. Mr. Pretorius replied that he could not do so, as he was within the Sovereignty. Major Hogg then said he would issue a written order for the arrest and expect Mr. Pretorius to have it carried out. But this coming to the knowledge of the Sovereignty farmers, one of them furnished Van der Kolff with a fleet horse, on which he rode to a rise in the ground at a short distance, and then capped his gun and halted as if to challenge the commissioners. Three lancers were thereupon sent in pursuit of the miscreant, but after a chase of a few miles he reached a band of Basuto and Koranas who were waiting for him. Moshesh's delegate, seeing the attempt made to arrest Van der Kolff, and that the farmers took no active steps to protect him, at once returned to Thaba Bosigo, in fear of like treatment for himself and his attendants.

The negotiations were then entered into, and as each article was agreed upon the secretaries wrote it out and read it over in English and Dutch for approval. The secretaries were, on the part of the emigrants, Mr. J. H. Visagie, and on the part of the assistant commissioners, Mr. John Burnet. The last named gentleman had succeeded Mr. Isaac Dyason in May 1850 as clerk to the civil commissioner of Winburg, and was destined to take part in the most important events north of the Orange for the next sixteen years. Mr. Pretorius desired that the old district of Winburg should be included in the arrangement, but the assistant commissioners would not consent. He then vainly pressed that a general amnesty should be extended to those persons in the Sovereignty who had repudiated the government. Further,

he desired to act as a mediator between the British authorities and the Basuto, but neither was this conceded.

The articles of agreement were arranged by Mr. Burnet, and on the following day, the 17th of January 1852, the document which has ever since been known as the Sand River convention was signed. It contained nine clauses, in the first of which the assistant commissioners "guaranteed in the fullest manner, on the part of the British government, to the emigrant farmers beyond the Vaal river the right to manage their own affairs and to govern themselves according to their own laws, without any interference on the part of the British government; and that no encroachment should be made by the said government on the territory north of the Vaal river; with the further assurance that the warmest wish of the British government was to promote peace, free trade, and friendly intercourse with the emigrant farmers then inhabiting, or who might thereafter inhabit, that country; it being understood that this system of non-interference was binding upon both parties."

The other clauses provided for arbitration in case of dispute about the boundary over the Drakensberg, disclaimed all alliances by the British government with coloured tribes north of the Vaal, provided that no slavery should be permitted or practised by the emigrant farmers, made arrangements for free trade except in arms and ammunition, gave the emigrant farmers liberty to purchase supplies of ammunition in the British colonies but prohibited trade in war material with the coloured tribes on both sides of the river, provided for the extradition of criminals by both parties, acknowledged as valid certificates of marriage issued by the proper authorities north of the Vaal, and gave permission to any one except criminals and runaway debtors to move at pleasure from one side of the river to the other.

The convention was signed on behalf of the British government by the assistant commissioners W. S. Hogg and C. Mostyn Owen, and on behalf of the Transvaal emi-

grants by the delegates A. W. J. Pretorius, H. S. Lombard, W. F. Joubert, G. J. Kruger, J. N. Grobbelaar, P. E. Scholtz, F. G. Wolmarans, J. A. van Aswegen, F. J. Botes, N. J. S. Basson, J. P. Furstenberg, J. P. Pretorius, J. H. Grobblelaar, J. M. Lehman, P. Schutte, and J. C. Klopper. The two secretaries, John Burnet and J. H. Visagie, signed as witnesses.

On the 16th of March 1852 a great meeting of the emigrants took place at Rustenburg, a village recently founded on one of the sources of the Limpopo, about seventy miles due north of Potchefstroom. The situation is one of great beauty, being an amphitheatre on the northern side of the great range which separates the feeders of the Limpopo from those of the Vaal, the country around is remarkably fertile, and the scenery is romantically grand. On the 11th Commandant-General Hendrik Potgieter with a considerable following had arrived at the village. In the bitterness of party feeling, Mr. Pretorius and those who had acted with him were accused by the Zoutpansberg people of usurping power which did not belong to them, of making a treaty without legal authority to do so, and of aiming at domination over the whole land. It was feared by many that there would be civil war. Mr. Pretorius reached Rustenburg on the 15th. That night some of the most influential burghers entreated the elders to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation between the two leaders. Before sunrise on the 16th the elders induced them to meet in Mr. Potgieter's tent and discuss matters without animosity. The people waited anxiously to know the outcome, and there arose a shout of joy when the tent door was opened, and Pretorius and Potgieter were seen standing hand in hand with an open bible between them.

The volksraad met at Rustenburg in the course of the morning. Mr. J. Stuart, author of *De Hollandsche Afrikanen en hunne Republiek in Zuid Afrika*, acted as secretary. The members almost unanimously ratified the convention. Its details were made known by word of mouth to the

assembled people, the only form of publication in a country without a printing press.

The emigrants had at last obtained what they had striven for so long and through so much suffering. To God, the same God who had led from misery to happiness another people whose history was on every tongue, their grateful thanks were due. And so they joined together to praise Him. The psalms that they sung might have sounded discordant to those whose ears are used to organ and choir, the prayers that the elders uttered might have seemed to modern divines to savour more of the teaching of Moses than of Paul; but psalm and prayer went up to the throne of God from deeply grateful hearts, and men who had never been moved to shed a tear by all the blows that disaster had struck were strangely moved that day. As one of the elders expressed himself, the strife of sixteen years was over, and independence was won.

On the 31st of March 1852 Lieutenant-General the honourable George Cathcart succeeded Sir Harry Smith as high commissioner and governor of the Cape Colony. On the 13th of May he issued from Fort Beaufort a proclamation "notifying to the Transvaal boers his assumption of the government of the Cape of Good Hope and its dependencies, and expressing the great satisfaction it gave him, as one of the first acts of his administration, to approve of and fully confirm the convention." And on the 24th of June Sir John Pakington, secretary of state for the colonies, wrote to General Cathcart "signifying his approval of the convention and of the proclamation giving effect to it."

At the time of the acknowledgment by Great Britain of the independence of the Transvaal emigrants, there were about five thousand families of Europeans in the country.

After their removal from Thaba Ntshu, the sections of the Barolong tribe under Tawane and Matlabe lived quietly in the Mooi River district north of the Vaal, without giving or receiving any cause of complaint, until the country around

them became occupied by people who had no cause to treat them with greater favour than other blacks. Tawane then, by Commandant Potgieter's advice, moved away to the country of his birth.

Matlabe preferred to remain where he was. For a short period after Commandant Potgieter's removal to Ohrigstad, the Mooi River district was in a condition of partial lawlessness, and Matlabe was obliged to remove; but as soon as order was restored he returned, and for many years afterwards continued to live on the ground given to him by Commandant Potgieter. It will not be necessary to refer to him again.

It was towards the close of the year 1848 that Tawane removed from Mooi River to Lotlakana, now better known as Rietfontein, in the country of Tao. He had been away from the land of his birth more than fifteen years, and he returned to find it in a very different condition from that in which he left it. With the overthrow of Moselekatse and the establishment of the emigrant government north of the Vaal, an era of peace and safety had set in, and the remnants of the former tribes had left their retreats in the desert and were again planting corn and building huts on the banks of streams whose waters their fathers had drunk.

Tawane's following was small when he reached Lotlakana, but he was comparatively wealthy in cattle, and he at once attracted about him those Barolong who had become Balala in the dispersion. His principal kraal and his outposts grew with great rapidity, and in less than a year his retainers could be numbered by thousands.

There were several farmers living along the Molopo and at some of the best fountains in the country before the return of Tawane, but he was not in a position to dispute their right to be there. In fact he was less independent than he had been in the Mooi River district, for now he was required to pay the labour tax. Further than this, however, his rule over the Barolong who were assembling about him was not interfered with, and he ended his life in prosperity

and quietness. He died at the end of 1849, and was succeeded in the chieftainship by his son Montsiwa, then a man of some thirty years of age.

One of the first acts of this captain after his father's death was to endeavour to obtain the services of a European adviser. He therefore sent his brother Molema to Thaba Ntshu, where the reverend Mr. Cameron was then residing, with a request that the Wesleyan society would provide him with a missionary. The request was laid before a district meeting of the clergymen of that body, with the result that in January 1850 the reverend Joseph Ludorf took up his residence at Lotlakana.

For two years Montsiwa got along fairly well with his neighbours, and there were no complaints on either side. All this time his strength was increasing, while the farmers were becoming more numerous in his neighbourhood. On the 14th of December 1851 Mr. Ludorf, in the name of the chief, wrote a letter to Commandant-General Pretorius, complaining that certain farmers had encroached on his territory and had taken possession of some of the best fountains. Mr. Pretorius immediately caused a reply to be written by Commandant Adriaan Stander, to the effect that the commandant-general and his council had appointed a commission to put a stop to all dissatisfaction, and that he wished Montsiwa to be present with his headmen at a certain place on the Molopo on the 30th instant to fix a line between the farmers and his people.

A few days later the commandant-general himself addressed Montsiwa, whom he styled "Worthy Chief and Ally," regretting to hear that encroachments on his territory had been made, and notifying that the commission had full power "to decide in the name of the emigrant farmers, and with his consent and approval, upon a boundary line, that they might continue to dwell together in friendship and love."

On the 30th of December 1851 the emigrant commission and the heads of Montsiwa's clan met at a farm house

belonging to Mr. Theunis Steyn on the southern bank of the Molopo. The commission consisted of the commandants Adriaan Stander and Pieter Scholtz, who were attended by two fieldcornets and ten burghers. Montsiwa was accompanied by two of his brothers, the reverend Mr. Ludorf, and ten councillors. After a friendly discussion, a boundary line between the Europeans and Montsiwa was agreed upon, which gave the Barolong an additional spring of water called Mooimeisjesfontein.

On the 8th of January 1852 Commandant-General Pretorius wrote to his "worthy friend and ally Montsiwa," that "he had submitted the report of the commission to his council, who had approved of the boundary line; that he trusted no encroachments would be made in future, and that Montsiwa on his side would use every endeavour to keep his people under good rule and order, so that their friendship might long continue."

All this looks very much as if Commandant-General Pretorius regarded Montsiwa as an independent chief. But this was certainly not his view of the matter. The style of his letters is exactly the same as that in which he was in the habit of addressing all the petty captains in the country who were living under the farmers' protection. We would term them vassals, but he chose to call them allies. The boundary line he regarded as we would the boundaries of a native location in the Cape Colony. That Montsiwa also took this view of the position is made equally certain by the following circumstance:—

A few months later Commandant Pieter Scholtz, who was then the highest local authority in that neighbourhood, convened a meeting of all the chiefs about the Molopo. The missionaries resident with them were also requested to attend, the object being to settle all disputes between them, to apportion land to those who complained that they had none, and generally to bring about a good understanding. Montsiwa attended the meeting, but Mr. Ludorf did not appear.

The conference was a friendly one. It took place at a mission station, and the reverend Mr. Edwards acted as interpreter for the commandant. The blacks present all admitted that the country they were in belonged to the emigrant farmers by right of conquest from Moselekatse. Some chiefs who had recently moved in had ground assigned to them on condition of paying the labour tax and a heifer every year. Montsiwa asked that a distinction should be made in his favour, as he was an old friend of the farmers. He desired to be released from payment of the labour tax. Commandant Scholtz asked if he would prefer to be placed in the same position as a burgher, that is to pay taxes in money and to render military service when called upon to do so. Montsiwa replied that he would be satisfied with such an arrangement, and an agreement to this effect was concluded between them, excepting that the amount of the money tax was left to be settled by the volksraad.

The victory of the Basuto at Viervoet and the subsequent attitude of Moshesh towards the Sovereignty government had a disturbing effect upon the tribes as far as the Limpopo. Especially was this the case with the Bapedi, between whom and Moshesh's people there was the warmest sympathy. Sekwati, the Bapedi chief, began to think that as the southern Basuto had successfully resisted the white man, he might do the same. He had a country similarly fortified by nature to fight in, and he had recently obtained a good many guns. With these weapons, which they had not yet learned to use properly, the Bapedi were really not more formidable than with assagais and battle-axes; but the possession of guns with them, as with all native tribes, increased their confidence in themselves and created a warlike spirit.

The Sand River convention had hardly been signed when the question of arming the natives came up for discussion between the Transvaal government and the high commissioner. Commandant-General Pretorius complained that English hunters and traders were in the habit of entering the country north of the Vaal by the lower road, and that

by keeping along the line of mission stations which had recently been established in the west of the republic, they made their way to the interior, and supplied the tribes there with firearms and ammunition in defiance of the sixth clause of the convention. He requested that such persons should be required to pass through Potchefstroom, both in going and returning, that the number of their guns might be checked; and he notified that the lower road was closed. The high commissioner regarded these precautions as reasonable and necessary for the security of the new state, but the hunters and traders paid no regard to them.

Prudence demanded that the danger should be suppressed before it attained larger dimensions. The Bapedi, feeling confidence in their strength, had already commenced to rob the neighbouring farmers of cattle, so the volksraad instructed Commandant-General Potgieter to proceed against them, exact compensation for the robberies, and disarm them. For this purpose the burghers of Zoutpansberg were called out.

On the 25th of August 1852 the commando reached the foot of the mountain on which Sekwati resided, and which he had strongly fortified. The place was held by a large garrison, and there were many thousands of cattle on it, so that there was no fear of hunger; but water was wanting. Potgieter had with him the commandants Schoeman and Van Wyk, six other officers, and three hundred and fifteen burghers. He invested the stronghold by stationing a guard at each opening to the summit, and then sent a message to Sekwati requiring him to surrender his guns. The answer of the chief was short and to the point: "Come and take them."

A close inspection showed that the mountain could not be carried by storm. Every approach was fortified with strong stone walls, behind which were warriors armed with guns, who could also roll down boulders on an advancing force. The commandant-general therefore resolved to blockade it closely, and to send out a patrol under Schoeman to scour the neighbouring country.

Commandant Schoeman found every hill defended by armed forces, and it was not without difficulty that he succeeded in getting possession of several of them. During nine days he was almost constantly skirmishing, but in that time he secured five thousand head of horned cattle, six thousand sheep and goats, nine guns, and some ammunition, with a loss of one burgher—Stephanus Fouche—killed and three wounded.

On the third day of the investment of his stronghold Sekwati asked for peace, but refused to give up his guns. The want of water on the mountain was already causing much suffering. The commandant-general declined to grant any terms short of complete disarmament, and so the blockade continued. During the nights parties of women and children were sent out to obtain water. At first the burgher guards allowed the famished creatures to pass down, but not to return, till it was discovered that men were making their way out in this manner, when no more were permitted to go by.

Mr. Potgieter, who was in delicate health when the expedition left home, now became so seriously ill as to be unable to direct operations any longer. Mr. Schoeman therefore took the chief command. There was little else to do than to guard the outlets, and let thirst destroy the garrison. Women, children, and cattle were dying for want of water. Blood was the only liquid that kept life in the warriors. The burghers were not one to twenty of the men whose wives and children were thus famishing, and they were scattered about in little pickets, while the whole Bapedi force could be directed to one point. Under such circumstances, it might be expected that the most arrant cowards would have cut their way out; but the Bapedi, so confident when danger was at a distance, had now lost heart, and, except with women and children in front of them, did not dare to meet the farmers' bullets. Twenty days the blockade lasted. How many human beings perished cannot be stated with any pretension to accuracy, but the number

must have been large. The air was polluted with the stench of thousands of dead cattle.

On the twentieth day a heavy storm of rain fell. Ammunition was becoming scarce in the farmers' camp, the horses were dying, and many of the men were sick. All were weary of the excessive discomfort to which they had been subject, and all were of opinion that the punishment of the Bapedi had been sufficiently severe. Commandant Schoeman therefore retired, and the burghers were disbanded. The main object of the expedition—the disarmament of the Bapedi—had not been attained. But Sekwati had been so chastised that it was long before his people troubled the farmers again.

Another military expedition of the same time was that against the Bakwena, which, owing to the destruction of Dr. Livingstone's property, has been heard of in every land where the English language is spoken.

The Bakwena tribe was one of those which had been nearly annihilated by Moselekatse. A remnant only escaped by taking refuge in the desert, where the Matabele could not follow, owing to their ignorance of the watering places. When Moselekatse was driven away, this remnant returned to its former home, and received from Mr. Potgieter permission to remain there. Being at a considerable distance from the settlement along the Mooi river, no labour tax was imposed upon the Bakwena, who were left in virtual independence. The only restriction placed upon them was that they should not possess guns, horses, or waggons, the object being to prevent them from acquiring military power. Their chief, Setyeli by name, was a man who in ability ranked among the southern Bantu second only to Moshesh, though he was considerably behind the great Mosuto.

In 1845 the reverend Dr. Livingstone had established a mission with Setyeli, and had acquired astonishing influence over him. Far and wide it was told in the country that the chief of the Bakwena had been bewitched by a white man, who had him under complete control.

By the missionary's advice Setyeli had moved from the location assigned to him by Mr. Potgieter, and had established himself on the Kolobeng river some forty miles to the westward, where water could be led out for irrigating purposes and where the tribe was at a greater distance from the farmers. Here Setyeli, or his missionary in his name, claimed to be perfectly independent.

It would be hardly possible to find a man not born in the country more closely resembling a South African farmer in character than the reverend Dr. Livingstone. He had all the indomitable perseverance, the disregard of difficulties, the coolness in time of peril, the hatred of restraint of any kind, which characterised the emigrants. But he had been educated in the school of modern English ideas, and consequently he and the farmers bore little love to each other. His great abilities and his partisanship of the blacks brought him into prominence, while his disregard of the sentiments of the white inhabitants of the country and his want of sympathy with them caused him to be regarded as a formidable opponent. In the second chapter of his *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* he has given ample illustration of this. By the farmers he was not then, nor has he at any time since, been considered a missionary in the sense of being an instructor of the heathen in divine truths. Report and common belief represented him as bent upon arming the tribe and instigating the chief to oppose the republican government. The great contrast between the conduct of the Bakwena during his residence with them and the period when they were under the guidance of a German missionary was pointed out years later in the volksraad and by the press as proving beyond doubt that the opinions of 1845-52 were correct. Whether they were well founded or not is difficult to determine. That he carried on a trade in guns and ammunition, at any rate to a large extent, is not probable, despite the evidence that has been produced to the contrary; but that he saw no harm in it is evident from the statements in his well-known volume. Most likely the truth

is that he, being in a situation where money was of no use in providing food or personal services, purchased what was necessary for the existence of himself and his family with guns and ammunition, articles which were in constant demand. That he went further in this direction is scarcely credible. The attempt of Commandant-General Pretorius to close the lower road to the interior certainly met with his unqualified opposition.

When the reverend Messrs. Robertson and Faure visited the country at the close of 1848 by direction of the synod of the Cape Colony, they met Dr. Livingstone at Commandant Kruger's residence at Magalisberg. His object in going to see them was to request them to use their influence to obtain permission for him to station a native teacher with one of the Betshuana clans. Dr. Robertson was, like himself, a Scotch clergyman, and the reverend Mr. Faure was a zealous promoter of missions, so that he probably looked for sympathy as well as aid. They gave the following account of what transpired on this occasion in their report of their mission:—

"We promised to speak with the commandants on the subject, and accordingly did so, when they declared themselves not opposed to the spread of the gospel, but, on the contrary, willing to assist in promoting it, especially if Moravian or Dutch missionaries came to labour among the natives. They stated, however, that they could not comply with Dr. Livingstone's request, because he provided the natives with firearms and ammunition, adding that shortly before the inhabitants of one kraal had destroyed those of another by means of firearms obtained from him. They declared themselves ready to maintain this statement in presence of Dr. Livingstone. This we communicated to him, on which he mentioned to us that he had given some guns and ammunition to a certain party who pretended that they were going out on an elephant hunt, but who, instead of doing so, had gone to attack a neighbouring kraal. We therefore proposed to Dr. Livingstone to meet the

commandants, when the question between him and them might be explained, and the matter respecting the stationing of native teachers be satisfactorily settled. To this proposal he gave his consent, and it was agreed that the interview should take place immediately after the religious service, which was soon to commence. When the commandants, however, came to our apartment for the purpose of meeting Dr. Livingstone, he was not to be found, having left the place during the time of divine service. We were afterwards informed that he had been warmly disputing with some of the farmers, telling them among other things that they were British subjects. Whether he knew that by these disputings he had excited an angry feeling against him, which was certainly the case, and on that account thought it more prudent to depart previous to the proposed interview, we are unable to determine."

Owing to his residence with the Bakwena, as much as to the conduct of the chief, the tribe was regarded with great distrust, but it was not until the winter of 1852 that Setyeli openly defied the republican government.

There was a branch of the Bahurutsi tribe living in a condition of vassalage on ground near the Marikwa assigned to it by Mr. Potgieter. These people called themselves the Bakatla, and had as their head a man named Moselele. Quiet and peaceable as long as it was believed that the white man's power was irresistible, ever since Viervoet the Bakatla had not ceased to be troublesome as cattle-lifters. At length the government resolved to call Moselele to account, and if necessary to punish him, whereupon the chief and most of his followers fled to the Bakwena. Setyeli received him gladly, promised him protection, and immediately sent to request some other chiefs in the neighbourhood to join him in resisting the white man.*

* This account does not agree with that of Dr. Livingstone, and I feel under the necessity therefore of quoting my authorities. These are (*a*) the proceedings of the volksraad of the South African Republic as communicated at the time to the British officials in the Sovereignty, (*b*) the reports of Commandant-General Pretorius and Commandant P. E. Scholtz, (*c*) Setyeli's own

The volksraad instructed Commandant-General Pretorius to see that the law was enforced. A commando of over three hundred men was therefore called out and placed under direction of Mr. Pieter Ernest Scholtz, whose orders were to demand the surrender of Moselele, and if Setyeli would not comply, to attack him.

The Barolong chief Montsiwa had shortly before, at his own request, been released from the labour tax and placed upon the footing of a burgher. He was now called upon by the commandant to supply, as a burgher, a contingent of twenty men to assist in arresting Moselele. Montsiwa sent excuses, but no men. The commando then moved on to Setyeli's kraal without any assistance from him.

On the afternoon of Saturday the 28th of August the burgher force arrived at Kolobeng. The Bakwena were found to have intrenched themselves, and to have obtained the assistance from other tribes that the chief had asked for. Commandant Scholtz at once sent a message in friendly words requiring the surrender of Moselele. Setyeli's answer was that he would not give up Moselele, that Scholtz must fight if he wanted him. So far, Setyeli's own account agrees with that of the Europeans. The chief adds that he had supplied his allies with powder and lead. Commandant Scholtz adds that Setyeli boasted of being amply furnished with guns and ammunition. "The boers were in the pot," he said, "the next day was Sunday, but on Monday he would put on the lid." On Sunday he sent to the camp to ask for some sugar. The commandant told the messenger that such a boaster needed pepper more than sugar. At the same time the chief pointed out where the oxen were to be sent to graze, because, he said, the grass elsewhere was poisonous, and he regarded the cattle already as his own.

statement published in the imperial blue-book on the Orange River Sovereignty in 1854, (*d*) at least twenty different statements made in later years by individuals who were actors in this matter, (*e*) the evidence given before the Bloemhof arbitrators, and (*f*) a large quantity of correspondence of the period, published and unpublished.

On Monday morning Commandant Scholtz sent two men to Setyeli to ask him to come to terms. So much forbearance had the effect of strengthening the chief's confidence in his own power. He therefore challenged the commandant to fight, and tauntingly added that if the farmers had not sufficient ammunition he would lend them some. In the commandant's report, he adds that he sent two messages subsequently before the fighting commenced. Only the last of the two is referred to by Setyeli in his account. The message was that the women and children had better be sent to some place out of danger. Setyeli's reply was that the women and children were his, and that the commandant need not trouble himself about them.

The burghers then advanced to the attack. The Bakwena and their allies were posted in strong positions, which it was necessary to storm. Setyeli afterwards asserted that his allies fled on the first shot being fired, but his own people certainly acted with greater courage than is commonly shown by Betshuana. It was only after six hours' hard fighting that the burghers obtained possession of the intrenchments and two of the ridges. Night was falling, and the Bakwena still held a rocky hill. During those six hours the burgher loss had been four men killed—Jan de Klerk, G. Wolmarans, Smit, and a half-breed—and five wounded. Setyeli gave his loss as eighty-nine killed. At dusk the commando returned to the camp.

Next morning a patrol of one hundred and fifty men, under Fieldcornet Paul Kruger, was sent out to see if the Bakwena were still on the hill. It was found that the warriors had fled during the night; so they were followed up, when they retired into the Kalahari desert. The women, children, and a few cattle were left behind.

On Wednesday the 1st of September Commandant P. Schutte was sent with a patrol to the old kraal of Kolobeng, some eight or nine miles distant, where the reverend Dr. Livingstone resided. The Bakwena had moved from this place some time before to the locality where the burghers

met them. Upon his return the commandant reported that he had found the missionary's residence broken open, and his books and other property destroyed. Dr. Livingstone was not there at the time. He had gone to Capetown with his family, and, after sending his wife and children to England, was returning to Kolobeng when these occurrences took place. At Motito on his way back he met Setyeli, who was then proceeding to Capetown in hope of obtaining assistance from the English government, and from whom Dr. Livingstone received the account which has so often since been quoted as a true relation of what occurred. This is placed beyond question by a letter from Dr. Livingstone to the secretary of state for the colonies, written just after the meeting with Setyeli, in which the identical account is given which appears in the missionary's published volume. But Setyeli himself, on arriving in Capetown, gave an account which is more in accord with that of the burgher leaders, much more so, indeed, in the principal points than with his other version published by Dr. Livingstone.

At the time, in a report to his commanding officer, which no one could then suppose would ever be published, Commandant Schutte stated that Dr. Livingstone's house had been broken open and pillaged before his arrival at Kolobeng. Repeated testimony from scores of persons who were present was given to the same effect from that date until the Bloemhof arbitration. That is the evidence on one side. On the other—that the house was broken open by the farmers—is the statement of Setyeli, made after his defeat, when he desired above all things to procure English assistance. There is further on one side the fact that the burghers regarded Dr. Livingstone as a very dangerous enemy, as living in their country and yet setting their laws at defiance, and were therefore not likely to have any scruples with respect to the destruction of his property. And on the other side, that the majority of the Bakwena were not likely to have any scruples either, that there was in the country at the time a band of desperadoes consisting chiefly of deserters from the

army who would have no misgivings in plundering a solitary and unprotected house, and the fact that on the march of the burghers towards Kolobeng two men had been tried by court martial, and sentenced to take their choice between thirty lashes or renunciation of all commando privileges, for having pilfered some articles from a missionary's residence. The great structure raised in England upon Setyeli's statement, the charges against the emigrant farmers founded upon it, and made and re-made until a collection would fill many volumes, cannot be regarded as evidence. What is really to be weighed in coming to a judgment is here placed before the reader, who can form his own opinion.

There was a building used as a workshop, which was found locked. Some of the prisoners informed the commandant that there was ammunition in it, upon which he caused it to be opened, and found a quantity of tools which he described as gunmaker's and blacksmith's, and some partially finished guns (probably under repair). The whole of the loose property upon the place was then confiscated and removed.

The commando retired with three thousand head of horned cattle, eleven horses, a few goats, two waggons, forty-eight guns, and all the loose property that was of value. A great many of the cattle were claimed by different persons as having been stolen from them, and when these were given up the troop was greatly reduced.

The reputation of the burghers would have suffered less in Europe if the account could be ended here. But when they retired, between two and three hundred women and children, who had been abandoned by the warriors, were taken as prisoners with them. This was held to be the simplest plan of bringing Setyeli to terms. Exactly the same thing has been done by gallant and humane Englishmen in more recent times, and when due care is taken that no abuse of any kind follows, the act can only be considered a justifiable proceeding in war with barbarians. Such a circumstance is regarded as a matter of course in intertribal

quarrels, when the women and children are not put to death. But where the arm of the law is weak the practice must be condemned, as it opens a door to many abuses. In this case the primary object was to obtain something towards the cost of the expedition. It was expected that the relatives of the captives would offer cattle for their redemption, or that Setyeli would propose favourable terms on condition of their release. Only a very few, however, were redeemed by their friends. Nearly all, after a short captivity, escaped or were permitted to return to their tribe, and the remainder, being children, were apprenticed to various persons.*

* For this account of the war between the emigrant farmers and Setyeli I have been more severely criticised than for any other part of my work,—I except, of course, the pure abuse dealt out by a few ignorant and prejudiced writers, which I can only treat with contempt. It has been charged against me that to excuse the farmers I have thrown a doubt upon their destruction of Dr. Livingstone's books, medicines, and furniture, that I have suddenly introduced a band of marauding deserters upon the scene, and that I have gone back upon my own former opinions, inasmuch as in the first three editions of my history, published before 1878, I followed Dr. Livingstone's account most closely. It is perfectly true that in those editions I followed Dr. Livingstone's account, believing it to be absolutely correct as bearing the impress of his name; but I had not then seen the documents which prove that account to be based on nothing more than a statement made by Setyeli, nor did I then know that as thorough an investigation as was possible into the whole circumstances of the treatment of the reverend Dr. Livingstone and Messrs. Edwards and Inglis had been made within two years of the occurrences, by a British commissioner of high reputation, who found nothing that the imperial government could remonstrate for or take action upon. The farmers were acknowledged to be acting within their rights in confiscating the guns and gunmaker's implements, and there was no proof whatever that they had destroyed anything in the mission house itself. They indignantly denied having done so, as they do to the present day. The fact of there being a band of lawless deserters in the country at the time was brought to the commissioner's notice, and it was regarded as possible that they might have broken open the building and destroyed its contents. Years later I myself made inquiries from Setyeli's son and some of his followers, and had the account given by the farmers of the cause and general conduct of the war practically confirmed, but of the destruction of Dr. Livingstone's property other than the guns and tools they knew nothing. I ascertained, however, that the tribe had been divided in opinion concerning him, some of the people regarding him with high esteem, while others disliked him for having, as they believed, bewitched their chief. Under these circumstances, there was certainly a possibility of the unfriendly party having taken advantage of the opportunity of the house

Moselele, for whose arrest the commando had been called out, was not captured. He fled to Gasiyitsiwe, chief of the Bangwaketse, who gave him shelter and protection.

being unoccupied and unguarded to destroy what they would have considered bewitching matter, namely the books and medicines, in it. It was with such evidence before me that I was obliged to come to the same conclusion as Sir George Clerk, that there was no proof to convict the farmers, and I then changed my narrative to its present form.

Here is the account in Dr. Livingstone's letter referred to:

"Frequent attempts were made by the Trans-Vaal Boers to induce the chief Sechele to prevent the English from passing him in their way north, and because he refused to comply with this policy, a commando was sent against him by Mr. Pretorius, which, on the 30th September last, attacked and destroyed his town, killed 60 of his people, and carried off upwards of 200 women and children. I can declare, most positively, that except in the matter of refusing to throw obstacles in the way of English traders, Sechele never offended the Boers by either word or deed. They wished to divert the trade into their own hands. They also plundered my house and property, which would cost in England at least £335. They smashed all the bottles containing medicines, and tore all the books of my library, scattering the leaves to the winds; and besides my personal property, they carried off or destroyed a large amount of property belonging to English gentlemen and traders. Of the women and children captured, many of the former will escape, but the latter are reduced to a state of helpless slavery. They are sold and bought as slaves; and I have myself seen and conversed with such taken from other tribes, and living as slaves in the houses of the Boers. One of Sechele's children is among the number captured, and the Boer who owns him can, if necessary, be pointed out."

How this is to be reconciled with the facts concerning Moselele, that rest upon the most complete evidence possible, I leave my critics to determine. Through the columns of the *Times* I have begged them to supply me with evidence in support of their assertions, but without result. These are the words I used:

"I wish to make this offer. If any one will furnish me with documents that would be received as evidence by a court of justice in opposition to the account in my *History of South Africa* of the Boer attack on Dr. Livingstone's station at Kolobeng, I will have them printed and give them as much publicity as possible. No man living has greater esteem for Dr. Livingstone than I have, and it was with pain that I was obliged to write of this matter as I did. . . . My unceasing effort has been, and is, to write without favour or prejudice, to do absolutely impartial justice to English, Boers, and Bantu alike, and I cannot let personal feeling interfere with this course of action. It would be exceedingly pleasant to me to be able to write differently of the attack on Kolobeng in the next edition of my History, which is shortly to be printed, and I shall be grateful to any one who will furnish me with authentic material to enable me to do so. But it must be real, trustworthy evidence, or my account must appear again without the alteration of a letter. 10th November 1902."

When in the neighbourhood of Lotlakana on his return Commandant Scholtz sent to Montsiwa, requiring him to come to the camp and account for his refusal to furnish a contingent to the expedition. A burgher acting similarly would have been treated in exactly the same way. The penalty was a fine. The chief, who professed to be afraid, sent the missionary Ludorf and two of his counsellors to speak for him. The commandant declined to receive the missionary, and directed the counsellors to return and inform Montsiwa that he must appear in person.

That night the Barolong clan held long and anxious counsel. The missionary states in his account that he put before them three courses that they could follow. His words are: "I said there are three deaths, choose the which you will die. First, take some cattle and go to the boers, and pray to have peace; give up all your guns, pay taxes, and become their slaves. Or second, look without delay for a hiding place, but look to the consequence—no water, and a burning sun. Or third, stand and fight like men for your lives, property, and freedom. As for me, I cannot say which will be best for you." Of the one course that was life—honest adherence to their engagements, which did not mean slavery or anything resembling slavery—this adviser had nothing to say.*

At daybreak on the morning of the 15th of September 1852 the Barolong of Montsiwa, said by the missionary to be then sixteen or eighteen thousand in number, began to abandon Lotlakana and flee to the southwest. That there was not the slightest necessity for doing so is proved, not only by the subsequent statements of the commandants, but by the fact that the burgher force proceeded onward without any demonstration against the place, and that it was not until the 28th of the month, when the commando was far away, that the huts were set on fire by Montsiwa's order. That

* Any one who may think I am too severe upon the reverend Mr. Ludorf can easily make himself acquainted with that individual's code of morality by referring to the blue-book on the Bloemhof arbitration.

the chief would be fined for neglect to do his duty was indeed highly probable. But the destruction of his kraal was entirely his own act, and the flight of the clan was simply one of those sudden migrations to which the Barolong had been accustomed since the days of Tao. The reverend Mr. Ludorf accompanied the fugitives a short distance, but after a few days he abandoned them and retired to Thaba Ntshu.

The reverend Roger Edwards, missionary with Moselele's Bakatla at Mabotsa, — where Dr. Livingstone himself had lived from 1843 to 1845, — and the reverend Walter Inglis, who resided close by, addressed a letter to Commandant Scholtz with reference to the recent proceedings, in which they used the following words: "Many of the said captive children will probably be taken away and sold to other parties in distant places, where their parents may never see them more." This letter might have passed unnoticed, but about the same time a copy of the *Commercial Advertiser* of the 19th of May 1852 came into possession of the republican government. This paper contained a report written by the reverend Mr. Edwards to the directors of the London society, which had been taken over from the *Missionary Journal*. So far as a description of the Bantu goes, this report was one of the most accurate and well-written documents of its kind that had then appeared. But idle tales and suppositions which had their birth in prejudice were recorded in it as if they were facts. The following paragraphs will illustrate this, the clauses given here in italics being those upon which the government took action.

"The native mind has of late been much unsettled by wars, or rumours of such, and held in suspense and uncertainty by the hostile movements of the emigrant boers, more especially to the eastward, where their inherent propensity for the constrained labour of the coloured man is ever seen. They allow the tribes to occupy land where, with one or two exceptions, irrigation is impossible from the scarcity of water; and even that favour is granted with the understanding that the latter are to supply servants as required by an imperative order from the boer officials, for ten, fifteen, or twenty men at the shortest notice, and without the least reference to the wish, or interest, or convenience of the natives. These arbitary proceedings occasion much

disquietude, and not unfrequently oppression and injustice. *If some Power do not interfere, either from policy or humanity, the ruin and slavery of the native tribes will inevitably follow at no distant period.*

"In the wars made upon the tribes eastward of this, the emigrants believed they had just cause to take away lives, capture cattle, young people, and children for servants *or slaves, some of whom are sold to others not engaged in those wars.* Last year a Griqua brought a boy from the northern lake and sold him to a boer for a horse. A party of the Dutch emigrants have returned from thence last month, and also brought a number of children. A horse belonging to one of these whites fell into a game-pit and was killed; he demanded people in payment. The chief, fearing his wrath, gave him a man, his wife, and daughter. Such is the testimony of one who witnessed the transaction."

It was never supposed that this report would meet the eyes of the farmers. Mr. Inglis made the following statement concerning it:—

"This paper, I am sorry to say, was given by me to one Murphy, a trader, who came to our house at the time the commando had gone out. A blunder on my part; I did not intend to have given it to him. He gave it to the boers, and such are the results."

No government in the position of the South African Republic could allow such statements as those of Mr. Edwards to pass unnoticed. Their having been made in the supposition that the persons assailed would never see them was an irritating factor in the case. A public trial was the best means to test them. On the 20th of November 1852, therefore, Mr. Edwards and Mr. Inglis also were cited to appear before the court of landdrost and heemraden for the district of Rustenburg, in which they were residents. Mr. Inglis's account, published in the *Friend of the Sovereignty*, makes it clear that more consideration was shown to them than would have been the case if they had been on their trial for libel in England. There he would probably have been punished for contempt of court had he acted as he states he did when on trial at Rustenburg.

They were both condemned to banishment from the republic within fourteen days, and Mr. Edwards in addition to pay the costs of his trial, amounting to £7 2*s.* 6*d.* If any one in South Africa doubted the justice of the sentence, Mr. Inglis soon proved that in his case at any rate it was

judicious. He turned to the press, but his communications were so rabid that very shortly newspapers of respectability ceased to take notice of him.

Within ten days after the battle of Berea Moshesh's messengers had traversed the country to Zoutpansberg, and immediately the effects were visible. Sekwati remembered his recent punishment, and kept tolerably quiet, but there was hardly another chief in the domains of the republic that did not give trouble. From Lydenburg all the way round by Makwasi Spruit to the Molopo, cattle-lifting was conducted on a larger scale than ever before. In many places the farmers were obliged to form lagers. In the Marikwa, to add to the distress, fever was prevalent.

In this quarter Montsiwa's Barolong plundered so extensively that Commandant-General Pretorius was obliged to proceed against them. The spoor of stolen cattle having been traced to their new kraal, the commando followed it up, and found some of the cattle among Montsiwa's herds. In a skirmish several farmers were wounded, and a few Barolong were killed. Some prisoners were taken, and Fieldcornet Paul Kruger was sent with them to Montsiwa to invite him to come to the camp and arrange matters amicably. Before reaching the place where the chief was it grew dark, so Mr. Kruger sent the message by the prisoners, who were all released, and he returned with his escort to the camp. Next morning it was discovered that Montsiwa had fled during the night. The commando therefore returned home.

During the next eight months the Barolong of Montsiwa were regarded as rebels, but as they kept out of the way no active steps were taken against them. On the 14th of October 1853 peace was concluded with them by Fieldcornet Jan Viljoen, acting for the government, and the location assigned to them by Messrs. Stander and Scholtz in December 1851 again became theirs. Montsiwa, however, did not return to Lotlakana, but went to reside in the country of the Bangwaketse north of the Molopo.

Before this date the two most prominent leaders of the emigrants, Hendrik Potgieter and Andries Pretorius, had finished their career. The former died in March, and the latter on the 23rd of July 1853. In the preceding year, he had visited Natal, where he received a hearty welcome. At Durban a public dinner was given in his honour by the English residents on the 10th of May 1852, and among those who promoted it were several who had fought against him at the same place ten years before. But now the bitter feeling caused by war was forgotten, and nothing was spoken of but friendship for the guest and for the new independent state in which he was the most prominent citizen.

The death of Mr. Pretorius was an affecting scene. An attack of dropsy, for which no medical treatment could be obtained, brought his life to a close. For a month he lay upon a bed of sickness, where he continued to display those admirable qualities which had made him worthy of being the hero of the emigrants. He entreated those who assembled round his bedside to preserve cordial union among themselves after his death, and not to let party strife or ambition find a place among them. He recommended them to give heed to the exhortations of the minister, the reverend Dirk van der Hoff, who had reached the republic from Holland only two months before, and to promote morality and civilisation by every means in their power. Afterwards, several Bantu chiefs were admitted to see him. They had heard of his illness, and had come to pay their respects. The relatives of the dying man were much affected on seeing these heathen exhibit intense grief as they knelt successively and kissed his hand. Everything connected with this world having been settled, Pretorius devoted his remaining hours to praise and prayer. He expressed perfect resignation to the will of the Almighty, and satisfaction at the prospect of being speedily transferred to a region where trouble and sorrow are unknown. Then, having committed his soul to his Saviour, he calmly breathed

his last. He died at the age of fifty-four years and eight months.

Thirty-eight years later his bones were removed from the grave in which they had rested so long, and on the 13th of May 1891 they were accorded a pompous state funeral in Pretoria.

Mr. Pretorius had been twice married. By his first wife, Christina de Wit, he had three sons and five daughters. A year after her death he married again, and by his second wife, Petronella de Lange, he had three children, two of whom died before him.

Upon the death of Commandant-General Potgieter, the volksraad appointed his eldest son his successor. Practically his command was limited to the district of Zoutpansberg, for the people of Rustenburg and Potchefstroom were nearly all adherents of Mr. Pretorius. It had not been considered necessary to name a successor to Mr. Enslin when he died. The volksraad met at Rustenburg on the 8th of August, and appointed Mr. Marthinus Wessel Pretorius, eldest son of the late leader, commandant-general of Rustenburg and Potchefstroom. The reverend Dirk van der Hoff held service at Rustenburg on this occasion, and before the sermon read a letter written by the late commandant-general ten days before his death and addressed to the officers composing the council of war, invoking God's blessing upon them, and advising them to continue steadfast in the Christian religion and to watch and pray that no seed of discord took root among them. The clergyman did well if his own exhortation to the congregation was half as touching.

The republic was at this time divided into four districts: Potchefstroom, Lydenburg, Zoutpansberg, and Rustenburg. The volksraad had decided to form a fifth district out of portions of Lydenburg and Rustenburg, and to establish in the centre of the territory a new village to be called Pretoria after the late commandant-general. For this purpose Mr. M. W. Pretorius had purchased two farms from Messrs.

Prinsloo and Van der Walt for the sum of £600, and it was understood that the volksraad would take them over. They were situated on a little stream called the Aapjes river, at the base of a range of mountains which, owing to a petty chief named Magali having been found near its western extremity by the first explorers, has since been known as Magalisberg. It was not, however, until a later date that this resolution was carried into effect, and the district of Pretoria was formed.

The supreme authority of the republic was the volksraad. The executive consisted of three commandants-general: M. W. Pretorius for Potchefstroom and Rustenburg, P. G. Potgieter for Zoutpansberg, and W. F. Joubert for Lydenburg; several commandants; a landdrost in each village, and a fieldcornet in each ward. There was no president. The nearest approach to a cabinet was the krygsraad, or council of war, which each commandant-general could summon for consultation. It consisted of the commandants and fieldcornets of the district. Every burgher was liable to be called out for military service. Taxation was very light, for with a government so simple a large revenue was not needed.

The government was admittedly tentative, and already it was beginning to be recognised that it could not long exist in that form. But in what direction change was advisable was not so apparent. It was believed that time would show its defects, and that whenever necessary it could be adapted to meet the requirements of the people.

Between the Limpopo and Zambesi rivers the country at this time was under the dominion of Sotshangana, Sebetoane, and Moselekatse. The first named was master of the land from the Indian ocean to the border of the high plateau, and kept the descendants of the earlier inhabitants in a state of constant fear and poverty. That they lived at all was a marvel, for they could not cultivate the ground to any extent, as if they had done so the conquerors would have been attracted; and they had very few horned cattle

or goats left. Always in a half-famishing state, they managed to exist, and that was all, by devouring wild plants and animal food of every kind, field mice and certain caterpillars being regarded as special dainties. All the attributes of manhood had been lost by the wretched creatures, and they had become arrant cowards, treacherous, mendacious, selfish in the last degree. They had in one respect sunk even lower than Bushmen, for these are always ready to defend their independence at the risk of their lives.

On the Tshobe and along a considerable extent of the southern bank of the Zambesi the Makololo held sway. They had formed part of the Mantati horde that destroyed so much human life, and after it was broken up had cut their way northward to their present home. Their chief, Sebetoane by name, was a harsh conqueror, but not so utterly ruthless as Sotshangana or Moselekatse. His name was destined to be made widely known by the great explorer Dr. Livingstone, who was at his kraal Linyanti when he died, and who, with the assistance of his son Sekeletu, travelled first from Linyanti to the shore of the Atlantic, and then from the same place to the Indian sea.

Moselekatse after his defeat by the emigrant farmers fled to the vicinity of the Matopo hills, where he made a new home. When he lived on the Marikwa many thousands of the earlier inhabitants of the country south of the Limpopo fled to the north to be beyond his reach, leaving that territory in the almost unpeopled state in which Hendrik Potgieter and his associates found it. When he settled at the Matopo, these people fled southward again, and caused that rapid increase in the population of Zoutpansberg and other districts which gave the farmers so much trouble. In his new abode Moselekatse pursued the same policy as before. His regiments went out and destroyed the Makalanga clans, seized whatever they had, and slaughtered all but big boys and girls. Many of the boys in course of time from being servants to the warriors

became soldiers themselves, and thus the Matabele were a mixed tribe, comprising the original Zulu element which furnished the most reliable troops and all the officers, the Betshuana women and soldiers incorporated between 1817 and 1837, and the Makalanga girls and boys incorporated since 1838.

In 1853 three brothers named Pieter Jacobus, Jan Abraham, and Frans Gerhard Joubert visited Moselekatse in a friendly manner, and to their great satisfaction were able to conclude an agreement of amity with him, which was afterwards faithfully observed on both sides. Under this agreement they were allowed to hunt in localities named by the chief and to purchase ivory from him. Proper precautions had, of course, to be used when entering the country, and the regulations laid down by the chief had to be strictly complied with, for anything like colonisation was prohibited. Thereafter the ivory of Matabeleland found its way to the different villages of the republic, and with the ostrich feathers and skins of wild animals obtained in the north, aided to increase the exports of South Africa.

PRINTED BOOKS

IN MY COLLECTION RELATING TO THIS PERIOD OF SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY.

Records of the Cape Colony, copied by me from the official documents in the Public Record Office, London, and published in octavo volumes of over five hundred pages each for the Cape government. No paper of even the slightest importance has been omitted in this collection. The documents date from 1793 to the close of 1827, and are contained in thirty-six volumes, all of which are minutely indexed.

Theal, George M'Call: *Catalogue of documents from 16th September 1795 to 21st February 1803, in the collection of colonial archives at Capetown.* An octavo pamphlet of sixty-three pages, prepared by me while keeper of the colonial archives, and published at Capetown by the government in 1880.

Allardyce, Alexander: *Memoir of the honourable George Keith Elphinstone, K.B., Viscount Keith, Admiral of the Red.* An octavo volume of four hundred and thirty-two pages, published at London in 1882. In this book one can learn particulars of the life of Admiral Elphinstone. The two chapters devoted to that portion of his career which was connected with the Cape Colony were written without reference to the Dutch records, but are fairly correct.

Barrow, John: *Travels into the interior of Southern Africa, in which are described the character and the condition of the Dutch Colonists of the Cape of Good Hope and of the several tribes of natives beyond its limits, &c., &c., &c.* Two quarto volumes, London (second edition), 1806. As far as geographical, botanical, and zoölogical information, statistics, and descriptions of institutions are concerned, this work is thoroughly reliable, and it is written in a remarkably clear and easy style. But the descriptions of the colonists are so deeply tinged by prejudice as to have deservedly drawn upon the author very severe criticism from later writers, especially from foreigners. Some cruelties that he states he witnessed, as for instance the frightful gashing of an ox by a brutalised farmer, and the rapid recovery of the animal, have been shown to be

impossibilities. This portion of the work should be read with due allowance for the author's position and the passions developed by the war with France.

Barrow, John: *Some account of the public life and a selection from the unpublished writings of the earl of Macartney.* Two quarto volumes, London, 1807. This is a work of considerable value to a student of South African history, but it cannot be regarded as a perfectly impartial narrative. From it can be learned what offices were held by Lord Macartney in other countries, and much besides concerning him; but he records of his administration are better sources from which to judge of his government of the Cape Colony.

Barrow, John: *A voyage to Cochin China in the years* 1792 *and* 1793; *to which is annexed an account of a journey made in the years* 1801 *and* 1802 *to the residence of the chief of the Booshuana nation, being the remotest point in the interior of Southern Africa to which Europeans have hitherto penetrated.* A quarto volume of four hundred and forty-seven pages, published at London in 1806. The account of the journey from Capetown to Lithako occupies seventy-five pages, and is condensed from the journal kept by Mr. Daniell, secretary to Messrs. Truter and Somerville, who were sent by General Dundas on a mission to the Betshuana. This portion of the volume is exceedingly interesting, and is of considerable value to a student of South African history, though many observations in it are strongly tinged with Barrow's prejudices. It is accompanied by a map, on which the existence of goldfields in their correct position is marked.

An autobiographical memoir of Sir John Barrow, bart., late of the admiralty; including reflections, observations, and reminiscences at home and abroad, from early life to advanced age. An octavo volume of five hundred and fifteen pages, published at London in 1847. A very interesting work, and one which contains several items of information on South Africa not to be found in any other printed book.

Lindsay, Lord: *Lives of the Lindsays, or a memoir of the houses of Crawford and Balcarres.* Three octavo volumes. London, 1849. One hundred and five pages in the third volume are filled with letters entitled *extracts from the journal of a residence at the Cape of Good Hope and of a short tour into the interior,* by Lady Anne Barnard. These letters are written in a very charming manner, and display a good deal of insight into the character of the colonists. The writer was the wife of Mr. Andrew Barnard, who was secretary to government from 1797 to 1803, and again in 1807.

Percival, Captain Robert: *An account of the Cape of Good Hope, containing an historical view of its original settlement by the Dutch, its capture by the British in* 1795, *and the different policy pursued there by the Dutch and English Governments. Also a sketch of its geography, productions, the manners and customs of the inhabitants, &c. &c.* A quarto volume of three hundred and thirty-nine pages, published at

London in 1804. This book is one of the most unreliable that has ever been issued from the press, and is of no value whatever for any purpose but waste paper.

Gleanings in Africa, exhibiting a faithful and correct view of the manners and customs of the inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope and surrounding country. With a full and comprehensive account of the system of agriculture adopted by the colonists, &c., &c., &c. An octavo volume of three hundred and twenty pages, published at London in 1806. The author's name is not given; but the work is described as a series of letters from an English officer during the period in which the colony was under the protection of the British government. It is so full of errors as to be of no value whatever.

Semple, Robert: *Walks and sketches at the Cape of Good Hope; to which is subjoined a journey from Capetown to Plettenberg's Bay.* A crown octavo volume of one hundred and ninety-eight pages, of which the second edition was published at London in 1805. This work is fairly interesting, but for historical purposes it is of very little value.

Stout, Captain Benjamin: *Cape of Good Hope and its dependencies, an accurate and truly interesting description of those delightful regions situated five hundred miles north of the Cape, &c., &c.* A crown octavo volume of one hundred and forty-four pages, published at London in 1820. Captain Stout was in command of the American ship *Hercules*, which on her return voyage from India was so badly damaged in a great gale that to save the lives of the crew she was run ashore on the coast between the mouths of the Keiskama and Beka rivers on the 16th of June 1796. With his crew of sixty men Captain Stout travelled overland to Capetown. This book is of no value whatever, being so full of incorrect statements that it might as well have been written by one who never saw the country.

Valentia, George, Viscount: *Voyages and travels to India, Ceylon, the Red Sea, Abyssinia, and Egypt in the years* 1802 *to* 1806. Three volumes octavo and a quarto volume of plates and maps, published at London from 1809 to 1820. The author called at the Cape on his way to the east, and made a hasty tour as far as Twenty-four Rivers. Twelve pages of the first volume are devoted to this country, but they contain no information of importance. In the volume of plates there is a good representation of the waterfall at French Hoek.

Tombe, Charles François: *Voyage aux Indes Orientales pendant les années* 1802, 1803, 1804, 1805, *et* 1806, *contenant la description du cap de Bonne Espérance, des îles de France, Bonaparte, Java, Banca, et de la ville de Batavia.* Two octavo volumes and a large quarto volume of maps and plates, published at Paris in 1810. The author of this work was a French officer, who found himself idle after the peace of Amiens, and who took passage to India in hope of improving his fortune by obtaining employment there. He was at the Cape at the close of the year 1802, and witnessed the consternation produced by the order from

England to delay the cession of the colony. The chapter in his work devoted to South African affairs contains nothing new or specially interesting.

Lichtenstein, Dr. Henry: *Travels in Southern Africa in the years* 1803 *to* 1806. This work, originally written in German, was translated into English and published in two quarto volumes in London in 1812. Its author came to South Africa as tutor to the eldest son of General Janssens, and in 1804 was appointed surgeon-major of the Hottentot regiment. He accompanied the commissioner-general De Mist on an extensive tour, was one of a party sent to visit the Batlapin country, and made some other journeys into the interior of the colony. His work, while much below that of Barrow in statistical information, is one of the very best descriptions of the country and its people—white and black—ever published, having been written without prejudice of any kind. It is not, however, entirely free from historical errors, which could have been corrected by referring to the records of the English administration from 1795 to 1803.

Alberti, Lodewyk: *De Kaffers aan de zuidkust van Afrika, natuur- en geschiedkundig beschreven.* An octavo volume of two hundred and sixty pages, published at Amsterdam in 1810. The author of this book was a man of ability, who for nearly three years commanded the garrison of Fort Frederick at Algoa Bay, and during the greater portion of that time was also acting landdrost of Uitenhage, in which capacity he had frequent intercourse with the Xosa clans in the Zuurveld. The work is a reliable description of the Kaffirs, and contains some historical information of value.

von Bouchenroeder, B. F.: *Beknopt berigt nopens de volkplanting de Kaap de Goede Hoop.* An octavo volume of one hundred and sixty-three pages, published at Amsterdam in 1806. A work of little value, as it is filled with wild speculations and controversial matter.

von Bouchenroeder, B. F.: *Reize in de Binnenlanden van Zuid Afrika, gedaan in den jare* 1803. An octavo volume of two hundred and forty-three pages, published at Amsterdam in 1806. This is a work of some interest, and is of value for historical purposes, though it contains a great deal of purely speculative matter.

Grand, George Francis: *Narrative of the life of a gentleman long resident in India.* A quarto volume of one hundred and eight pages, published at Capetown in 1814. This book contains a little information concerning events in the Cape Colony, but too trifling to make it of much value except as a curiosity.

The life of General the right honourable Sir David Baird. Two octavo volumes, London, 1832. The author's name is not given. This work is useful as giving particulars concerning the career of Sir David Baird.

Keith, Sir George Mouat, Commander R.N.: *A voyage to South America and the Cape of Good Hope in his Majesty's brig Protector.* A quarto volume of one hundred and nineteen pages, published at

London in 1819. The author's observations upon this country are of no great value.

Sargent, Rev. John, M.A.: *A memoir of the Rev. Henry Martyn, B.D.* The fourteenth edition is a crown octavo volume of four hundred and thirty-five pages, published at London in 1839. It contains a few paragraphs upon the Cape. The reverend Mr. Martyn was a chaplain in the East India Company's service, and was in a ship of the fleet which conveyed Sir David Baird and his army to South Africa. He visited the field of Blueberg just after the battle.

Journals and letters of the Rev. Henry Martyn, B.D. A crown octavo volume of seven hundred and sixty-seven pages, published at London in 1839. It contains a few pages upon the Cape.

History of the Civilization and Christianization of South Africa from its first settlement by the Dutch to the final surrender of it to the British. A small volume of three hundred and twenty pages, printed at Edinburgh in 1832. The author's name is not given. According to this volume the missionaries were the sole agents in civilising the Hottentots, and the colonists were barbarians. The statements made are in numerous instances highly distorted, and some of them are historically incorrect. The many instances given of assistance rendered by the friends of missions—who were Dutch colonists, though the author does not say so—should have prevented such sweeping assertions as are frequently made.

Halloran, Laurence, D.D.: *Proceedings, including original correspondence, official documents, exhibits, &c., &c., duly attested and authenticated as correct extracts from the records of the court of justice at the Cape of Good Hope, in a criminal process for a libel, instituted at the suit of Lieut.-Gen. the hon. H. G. Grey, and by order of the right hon. the earl of Caledon.* An octavo volume of seven hundred and eleven pages, published at London in 1811.

Halloran, Laurence, D.D.: *Newgate, or desultory sketches in a prison; a poem and other original fugitive pieces, with notes and an appendix; by Laurence Halloran, D.D., at present a prisoner in His Majesty's gaol of Newgate, under sentence of transportation for seven years on a charge of having defrauded the post-office revenue of the sum of tenpence by counterfeiting a frank.* A small quarto volume of seventy-four pages, published at London in 1818. The circumstances under which this book was written must be unique, if the real merit of the poetry, the author's previous career, and his utter insensibility to the heinousness of the crime of which he had been guilty, be taken into consideration.

Campbell, John, minister of Kingsland chapel: *Travels in South Africa, undertaken at the request of the missionary society.* An octavo volume of five hundred and eighty-two pages, published at London in 1815. This book contains some information on general subjects, as well as a complete account of the missions of the London society. But the author's simplicity and credulity were so great that little reliance can be placed upon anything that he describes which did not come under

his own eyes. It is difficult to make out his Dutch, Korana, and Setshuana proper names, as his ear was not good at catching sounds. There is a kindly tone throughout the book, however, which compensates for many defects.

Campbell, Rev. John: *Travels in South Africa, undertaken at the request of the London missionary society; being a narrative of a second journey in the interior of that country.* Two octavo volumes, published at London in 1822. On this occasion Mr. Campbell travelled in the interior as far as the country occupied by the Bahurutsi tribe—the present Mosega,—and to those who are able to correct his spelling of Setshuana names his narrative is therefore exceedingly interesting.

Burchell, William J.: *Travels in the interior of Southern Africa.* Two large and splendidly illustrated quarto volumes, published at London in 1822 and 1824. This is one of the most trustworthy and valuable books ever issued upon South Africa. Its author was a man of talent, an easy writer, and scrupulously exact in his descriptions. He travelled northward nearly to the Molopo river in Betshuanaland, and resided some months at Griquatown and Lithako. From Griquatown he made his way through Bushmanland to Graaff-Reinet and back again. Subsequently he travelled to the Fish river, and then through the whole length of the Cape Colony; but his printed work ends with his leaving Lithako on the 3rd of August 1812. Many of the numerous illustrations which adorn these volumes are beautifully coloured, and all have the accuracy of photographs. In statistical matter Burchell's book cannot be classed with that of Barrow, but in everything else it is vastly superior. It is the production of a conscientious man, a scholar, and a philosopher, who could judge of what was good and what was evil in people apart from their colour or nationality. The high price—nine guineas—unfortunately prevented a large circulation.

Fisher, Richard Barnard: *The importance of the Cape of Good Hope as a colony to Great Britain, independently of the advantages it possesses as a military and naval station and the key to our territorial possessions in India.* An octavo volume of one hundred and ninety pages, the third edition of which was published at London in 1816. No greater nonsense was ever inflicted upon a reader.

Hooker, William Jackson, LL.D., &c.: *Botanical Miscellany.* Three octavo volumes published at London in 1830 to 1833. The second and third volumes contain a paper in three parts contributed by the reverend Colin Smith, entitled *a biographical notice of Captain Dugald Carmichael.* Eighty-one pages of this biography are devoted to Captain Carmichael's residence at the Cape of Good Hope from his arrival with General Baird in 1806 to the removal of his regiment to Mauritius in 1810, and when he was again quartered here in 1814 to 1816. There is some really useful information upon South Africa in this paper. There is also an account of the expedition to Tristan da Cunha, which Captain Carmichael accompanied.

Latrobe, Rev. C. I.: *Journal of a visit to South Africa in* 1815 *and* 1816, *with some account of the missionary settlements of the united brethren near the Cape of Good Hope.* A quarto volume of four hundred and six pages, with map and coloured plates, published at London in 1818. There is also an octavo edition without the plates. Mr. Latrobe's object in visiting the colony was to inspect the mission stations of Genadendal and Mamre, and to select a suitable site for a new settlement. With this object he travelled through the country to the Fish river. His work is interesting and is written in a spirit of fairness to the government, the colonists, and the coloured people; but it does not contain much historical or general information concerning the country, if the accounts of the brethren's mission stations be excepted.

Robertson, G. A.: *Notes on Africa, particularly those parts which are situated between Cape Verd and the river Congo.* An octavo volume, published at London in 1819. An appendix of ninety-two pages in this book contains what is termed *a compendious account of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, its productions and resources, together with a variety of important information very necessary to be known by persons about to emigrate to that country.* It was not written by Mr. Robertson, and the author's name is not given. It is so full of errors as to be valueless.

An account of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, with a view to the information of emigrants; and an appendix containing the offers of government to persons disposed to settle there. An octavo volume of one hundred and seventy-two pages, published at London in 1819. This book was compiled from the works of various travellers, and contains many errors. The appendix is the only portion that is of value.

Notes on the Cape of Good Hope, made during an excursion in that colony in the year 1820. An octavo volume of two hundred and seven pages, published at London in 1821. The author's name is not given. Except Captain Moresby's report of the survey of the south-eastern coast, which is copied from the *Gazette*, no part of this book is of any particular value, and many remarks upon the people are grossly inaccurate.

Bird, Wilberforce: *State of the Cape of Good Hope in* 1822. A handbook of three hundred and seventy-seven octavo pages, published at London in 1823. The author did not affix his name to the title page, but it was no secret that the work was prepared by Mr. W. Bird, controller of customs at Capetown. The information given is of the kind usual in handbooks, and is in general agreement with the returns made for the imperial government.

Theunissen, J. B. N.: *Aanteekeningen eener reis door de binnenlanden van Zuid Afrika, van Port Elizabeth naar de Kaapstad, gedaan in* 1823. An octavo volume of one hundred and thirty-four pages and a large chart, published at Oostende in 1824. Captain Theunissen, a military officer in the service of the Netherlands, was wrecked on the coast a few miles west of Algoa Bay during the night of the 29th of March 1823. Of one hundred and eighty souls on board the ship, one hundred and seventy-

two got safely to land, and eight perished. The crew and passengers were sent by sea from Port Elizabeth to Capetown, except Captain Theunissen, who preferred to travel overland to see the country. He had once before resided in Capetown for a few weeks. His little volume is pleasantly written, and gives a very fair picture of the people and the portion of the colony that he saw; but it contains no other information.

Allereerste beginselen der geschiedenis van Kaap de Goede Hoop. A catechism of ninety-eight pages, printed by J. Suasso de Lima at Capetown in 1825. Having been prepared to suit the views of Lord Charles Somerset, it is somewhat partial, and is of more value now as a curiosity than as containing information.

Grant, Lieutenant P. Warden, of the Bengal revenue survey department: *Considerations on the state of the colonial currency and foreign exchanges at the Cape of Good Hope, comprehending also some statements relative to the population, agriculture, commerce, and statistics of the colony.* An octavo volume of two hundred pages, published at Capetown in 1825. This book contains some valuable statistics, but the figures do not always agree with those in the returns sent by the government to England. For the rest, it is taken up with matter of little interest now.

Burnett, Bishop: *A reply to the report of the commissioners of inquiry at the Cape of Good Hope, upon the complaints addressed to the colonial government and to the earl Bathurst by Mr. Bishop Burnett.* An octavo volume of three hundred and thirteen pages, published at London in 1826.

Thompson, George: *Travels and adventures in Southern Africa, comprising a view of the present state of the Cape Colony, with observations on the progress and prospects of the British immigrants.* A quarto volume of four hundred and ninety-three pages, illustrated, published at London in 1827. This book is one of the best that has ever been written upon South Africa. The author had resided eight years in the country. His powers of observation were keen, his mind was free from prejudice, and his style of writing was clear.

Scenes and occurrences in Albany and Cafferland, South Africa. An octavo volume of two hundred and fourteen pages, published at London in 1827. The author's name is not given. This book is pleasantly written, but there is nothing in it of any particular value.

Philip, Rev. John, D.D.: *Researches in South Africa, illustrating the civil, moral, and religious condition of the native tribes, including journals of the author's travels in the interior, &c., &c.* Two octavo volumes, published at London in 1828. The object of this work was to impress its readers with the belief that the Dutch farmers cruelly oppressed the natives of South Africa, and that the English colonial government of the time did the same, only to a much greater extent. The description of the Bushmen —whom the writer constantly confused with Hottentots—is that of a race capable of rapid improvement and high civilisation. The Betshuana

refugees are represented as having been driven into the colony by the Bergenaars, and the government is severely blamed for this event, so little did Dr. Philip really know of the matter. Upon the appearance of the work, the accuracy of its statements was generally denied by both English and Dutch in South Africa, but in England it was well received by a large section of the people. For historical purposes, its only value is the exposition of the views of its author with regard to the colonists and the coloured races. Time has passed a decisive judgment against the correctness of those views, for in later years Dr. Philip possessed power to cause his theories to be put into practice, with the result that the country was long involved in confusion and difficulties.

Boniface, Ch. Et.: *Relation du naufrage du navire français l'Eole sur la côte de la Caffrerie.* An octavo volume of one hundred and twenty-four pages, published at Capetown in 1829. The *Eole* left Bourbon for France in March 1829, and at four o'clock in the morning of the 12th of April during a violent storm struck on the coast between the mouths of the Kei and Bashee rivers. In a few hours she went to pieces, when twelve out of twenty souls on board perished. The book is an interesting account of the adventures of the eight survivors until they reached Capetown, but it contains nothing besides of any great importance.

Rose, Cowper: *Four years in Southern Africa.* An octavo volume of three hundred and eight pages, published at London in 1829. The author travelled eastward as far as Hintsa's kraal. He gives light sketches of the country and of the people he met, which are not always correct. There is very little to be learned from his book.

Bannister, S., late attorney-general in New South Wales: *Humane policy, or justice to the aborigines of new settlements essential to a due expenditure of British money and to the best interests of the settlers. With suggestions how to civilise the natives by an improved administration of existing means.* An octavo volume of five hundred and twenty-nine pages, published at London in 1830. The greater part of this book is taken up with copies of letters and official documents. What is original is of value only as showing the wild theories that could be held by men of education regarding the coloured people of South Africa. They are represented by Mr. Bannister as eager for improvement and struggling towards civilisation, while being oppressed and kept back by the Europeans. The Kaffir chiefs are depicted as men of high character, and the Bushmen as people capable of any degree of refinement.

Narrative of voyages to explore the shores of Africa, Arabia, and Madagascar, performed in H.M.'s ships Leven and Barracouta under the direction of Captain W. F. W. Owen, R.N. Two octavo volumes, published at London in 1833. This work contains with other information Mr. Farewell's account of Tshaka.

Kay, Rev. Stephen: *Travels and researches in Caffraria: describing the character, customs, and moral condition of the tribes inhabiting that portion of Southern Africa; with historical and topographical remarks illustrative*

of the state and prospects of the British settlement in its borders, the introduction of Christianity, and the progress of civilisation. A crown octavo volume of five hundred and nine pages, published at London in 1833. This is an interesting and valuable book, from which much information concerning the Bantu tribes and the Wesleyan missions can be obtained. But it must be read with great caution, for its author was one of those who regarded white men who were not missionaries as little better than incarnate fiends. Such expressions as "armed ruffians" and "cold-blooded murderers," applied to the burghers and soldiers who formed the force which under Lieutenant-Colonel Graham expelled the Kaffirs from the Zuurveld in 1812, must therefore be overlooked or regarded merely as the author's equivalents for men engaged in legitimate warfare. Two portraits termed those of Kaffirs are given, which are of the gentlest of Europeans with their skins darkened. The accounts given by Mr. Kay of the encounter between Major Dundas and the Amangwane and of the battle between Lieutenant-Colonel Somerset's forces and the same tribe were investigated by the government, and found to be strikingly incorrect.

Holman, James, R.N., F.R.S.: *A voyage round the world, including travels in Africa, Asia, Australasia, America, &c., &c., from* 1827 *to* 1832. Four octavo volumes, published at London in 1834. Three hundred and twelve pages of the second volume are devoted to an account of the author's travels in the Cape Colony. The work is interesting as the production of a blind man who travelled, chiefly on horseback, from Capetown to the Keiskama and back, but there is not much reliable information to be obtained from it.

Steedman, Andrew: *Wanderings and adventures in the interior of Southern Africa.* Two octavo volumes, published at London in 1835. This is an interesting book, especially to a student of natural history, though it cannot be placed on a level with the works of Barrow, Lichtenstein, Burchell, or Thompson. An appendix of over two hundred pages contains much useful information relating to the progress of discovery in South Africa.

Pringle, Thomas: *Narrative of a residence in South Africa.* The second edition is a crown octavo volume of three hundred and fifty-six pages, published at London in 1835. The author was one of the British settlers of 1820, but returned to England in 1826. The book is written in a pleasing style, and contains much information upon various subjects; but it must be read with caution, as Mr. Pringle held extreme views concerning the treatment of the coloured inhabitants of South Africa by Europeans, and was apt to let his fancy run wild. It should be compared with the evidence given by Lieutenant-Colonel Wade before the committee of the house of commons in 1835.

The Cape Cyclopædia. A small volume of two hundred and five pages, published at Capetown in 1835. Of no particular value, except for an account of the missionary George Schmit.

Moodie, Lieutenant J. W. D.: *Ten years in South Africa, including a particular description of the wild sports of that country.* Two octavo volumes, published at London in 1835. For historical purposes this work is of little value, except as giving an account of the settlement of Fredericksburg; but a sportsman may read it with interest.

Fawcett, John: *Account of an eighteen months' residence at the Cape of Good Hope in* 1835-6. An octavo volume of ninety-eight pages, published at Capetown in 1836. The author was a captain in the East India Company's military service, who visited South Africa for the sake of his health. He was a religious man, though very narrow minded, as his observations upon the Wesleyans show. The book contains a little general information, but is chiefly occupied with the author's views upon mission work and a description of several mission stations.

Polson, Lieutenant Nicolas: *A subaltern's sick leave, or rough notes of a visit in search of health to China and the Cape of Good Hope.* An octavo volume of one hundred and sixty-six pages, of which eighty-nine are devoted to South Africa, published at Calcutta in 1837. This book was written by a man of observation and sound sense. The information upon South Africa given in it is correct, but it is too scanty to be of much value. The author—the name Polson is probably fictitious—was an officer of the Bengal native infantry. He visited this country at the same time as Captain Fawcett, when the reverend Dr. Philip was the most prominent figure in colonial society. The impression which the superintendent of the London society's missions made upon them was as different as upon the various governors and the leaders of the philanthropic parties in England. Captain Fawcett speaks of him as "that distinguished and honoured servant of the Lord . . . . , a man of large and enlightened views." The other describes him as "one whose talents and powers of persuasion would do honour to the most glorious cause, but whose conduct would disgrace the worst."

Shaw, Rev. Barnabas: *Memorials of South Africa.* The second edition is a small octavo volume of three hundred and forty-six pages, published at London in 1841. This book gives an account of the early Wesleyan missions in South Africa, and contains a good deal of information concerning various tribes. Its spirit is fair and kindly towards all classes of the inhabitants. It contains a few historical errors, but they are of very little importance. A considerable part of the work is taken up with experiences of religion given by converts.

Relation d'un voyage d'exploration au nord-est de la colonie du Cap de Bonne-Espérance, entrepris dans les mois de Mars, Avril, et Mai, 1836, *par MM. T. Arbousset et F. Daumas, missionaires de la société des missions évangeliques de Paris.* An octavo volume of six hundred and eight pages, with map and plates, published at Paris in 1842. This book contains an account of a journey from Morija to the Vaal river and back by another route, with a description of the country traversed and the various clans encountered. It gives a vivid picture of the desolation

and misery caused by the wars in those regions a short time previously. It also contains a large amount of information upon native customs. There is an English translation published at Capetown in 1846, but it is without the chart or plates. An edition published at London and Aberdeen in 1852 contains the chart.

Cloete, Henry, LL.D.: *Five lectures on the emigration of the Dutch farmers from the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and their settlement in the district of Natal, until their formal submission to Her Majesty's authority in the year* 1843. An octavo volume of one hundred and sixty-eight pages, published at Capetown in 1856. These lectures give a generally faithful account of the principal events that led to the emigration, and of the proceedings of the farmers from their leaving the colony until 1843; but they were written from memory only, and consequently are not always reliable in details. They were delivered at Maritzburg, when their author was recorder of Natal.

Shaw, William: *The story of my mission in South-Eastern Africa, comprising some account of the European colonists, with extended notices of the Kaffir and other native tribes.* A crown octavo volume of five hundred and seventy-seven pages, published at London in 1860. The reverend Mr. Shaw arrived in South Africa as clergyman with a party of British settlers in 1820, and three years later removed from Salem to Wesleyville, where he founded the first Wesleyan mission with the Kaffirs. From that date his name is inseparably connected with the extension of missions in South-Eastern Africa. His book is pleasantly written, and is a trustworthy account of occurrences that came under his observation. It is free from the strong party passions which detract so greatly from some of the early missionary writings.

Borcherds, Petrus Borchardus: *An autobiographical memoir, being a plain narrative of occurrences from early life to advanced age.* An octavo volume of five hundred pages, published at Capetown in 1861. A very interesting and accurately written book.

Meurant, the honourable L. H.: *Sixty years ago, or reminiscences of the struggle for the freedom of the press in South Africa and the establishment of the first newspaper in the eastern province.* An octavo volume of one hundred and seven pages, published at Capetown in 1885. As Mr. Meurant was connected with the *Commercial Advertiser* when it was commenced and suppressed, and was also the first editor of the *Grahamstown Journal*, this little book is both interesting and valuable.

Introductory remarks to a narrative of the irruption of the Kafir hordes into the eastern province of the Cape of Good Hope in the years 1834-5. By the editor of the *Grahamstown Journal*. An octavo volume of two hundred and seventy pages, published in two parts at Grahamstown in 1835 and 1836. This book contains much authentic information.

Godlonton, Robert: *A narrative of the irruption of the Kafir hordes into the eastern province of the Cape of Good Hope*, 1834-5. An octavo volume of two hundred and eighty pages, published at Grahamstown in 1836.

This is on the whole a trustworthy account of the war, being founded upon official reports and the author's personal knowledge of much that occurred at the time. It was hastily prepared, however, and might have been improved by careful revision a few years later. There are a great many misprints. The relationship to each other of some of the chiefs is incorrectly described, and the spelling of Kaffir names is such as often almost to defy recognition.

Isaacs, Nathaniel: *Travels and adventures in Eastern Africa, descriptive of the Zoolus, their manners, customs, &c., &c., with a sketch of Natal.* Two crown octavo volumes, published at London in 1836. A very interesting book, indispensable to a student of early events in Natal.

Smith, Dr. Andrew: *Report of an exploring expedition into the interior of South Africa as far as the Limpopo river.* An octavo volume of one hundred and thirty pages, published at Capetown in 1836. A book of very considerable value.

Gardiner, Captain Allen F., R.N.: *Narrative of a journey to the Zoolu country in South Africa, undertaken in* 1835. An octavo volume of four hundred and twelve pages, published at London in 1836. There is much information in this volume concerning missions in Kaffirland and early events in Natal.

Shaw, William, Wesleyan missionary: *Memoirs of Mrs. Anne Hodgson, compiled from materials furnished by her husband the Rev. T. L. Hodgson; comprising also an account of the commencement and progress of the Wesleyan mission amongst the Griqua and Bechuana tribes of Southern Africa.* A crown octavo volume of two hundred and fifty-two pages, published at London in 1836. Some useful information is to be obtained from this book.

Alexander, Captain James Edward, K.L.S.: *Narrative of a voyage of observation among the colonies of Western Africa in the flagship Thalia, and of a campaign in Kaffirland on the staff of the commander-in-chief in* 1835. Two octavo volumes, published at London in 1837. Part of the first and the whole of the second volume are devoted to an account of the Kaffir war of 1834-5, which is well written and thoroughly accurate, The work is illustrated with maps and plates by Major Michell, the surveyor-general, who was the author's father-in-law.

Copy of minutes of proceedings of the court of inquiry held at Fort Willshire in the months of August and September 1836, *of which the honourable Lieutenant-Colonel Hare, C.B. and K.H., 27th regiment, was president, to investigate and report upon the circumstances attendant on the fate of the Caffer chief Hintza.* A crown octavo volume of one hundred and ninety pages, published at Capetown in 1837.

The wrongs of the Caffre nation. By Justus. A crown octavo volume of three hundred and thirty-three pages, published at London in 1837. The statements in this book are not only untrustworthy, but many of them to South African readers are utterly absurd. The author of such a production could not be expected to put his name to it. See a very

good review of his rubbish in the reverend W. B. Boyce's *Notes on South African affairs from* 1834 *to* 1838.

Alexander, James Edward: *An expedition of discovery into the interior of Africa, through the hitherto undescribed countries of the Great Namaquas, Boschmans, and Hill Damaras, performed under the auspices of her Majesty's government and the royal geographical society.* Two octavo volumes, published at London in 1838. This is a very well-written work, and is accurate in details. It gives a most interesting account of the author's journey through Great Namaqualand, the condition of the different people encountered, and other particulars.

Boyce, William B., Wesleyan missionary: *Notes on South African affairs from* 1834 *to* 1838, *with reference to the civil, political, and religious condition of the colonists and aborigines.* An octavo volume of two hundred and eighty-six pages, published at Grahamstown in 1838. Without agreeing with all the speculative remarks in this book, it must be pronounced most accurate in the facts which it records. It is one of the very best volumes of its time with reference to South Africa, for its author was not only an intelligent, but a fearlessly outspoken and honest man, who tried to tell the truth both of white people and black.

Moffat, Rev. Robert: *Missionary labours and scenes in Southern Africa,* A royal octavo volume of six hundred and twenty-four pages, published at London in 1842. This is a most interesting and useful book, full of information upon the Betshuana tribes and the early missions to those people.

Martin, R. Montgomery: *History of Southern Africa, comprising the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, Seychelles, &c.* The second edition is a crown octavo volume of four hundred and nineteen pages, published at London in 1843. The title is misleading, as the work is a descriptive handbook, not a history of the country. Though there are some gross blunders in it, it is in general fairly accurate, much of it having been taken from official documents.

Chase, John Centlivres: *The Cape of Good Hope and the eastern province of Algoa Bay, &c., &c., with statistics of the colony.* A crown octavo volume of three hundred and thirty-eight pages, edited by Mr. Joseph S. Christopher, and published at London in 1843. This is an excellent handbook of the eastern districts, but some of the names of places are hardly recognisable, and it is evident the proof reader was altogether unacquainted with South African geography. Some interpolations made by the editor in England also detract considerably from the value of the work.

Backhouse, James: *A narrative of a visit to the Mauritius and South Africa.* A demy octavo volume of six hundred and forty-eight pages, published at London in 1844. The author was a member of the society of Friends, and was travelling for the purpose of visiting mission stations and aiding in works of philanthropy. The book contains some useful

information, but it has to be extracted from a mass of matter of no interest to the general reader.

Morrell, Captain Benjamin: *A narrative of four voyages to the South Sea, North and South Pacific Ocean, Chinese Sea, Ethiopic and Southern Atlantic Ocean, Indian and Antarctic Ocean, from the year* 1822 *to* 1831; *comprising critical surveys of coasts and islands, with sailing directions, and an account of some new and valuable discoveries, &c., &c.* An octavo volume of four hundred and ninety-two pages, published at New York in 1832.

Morrell's narrative of a voyage to the south and west coast of Africa, containing the information from whence originated the present trade in guano found on certain islands on that coast. With a prefatory advertisement by Lieutenant Petrie, R.N., and an appendix comprising notices of the nature and chemical history of guano, &c., &c. A crown octavo volume of one hundred and forty-four pages, published at London in 1844. This is a reprint of part of the narrative published by Captain Morrell. It is an interesting little volume, but its author coloured portions of his subject much too highly. He fancied a fortune could be made by purchasing cattle from the Hottentots and jerking beef on the coast opposite Ichaboe, and merely mentions that there was a deposit of guano on that island twenty-five feet in depth. He was there in 1828 and 1829 in the American schooner *Antarctic*, collecting seal skins and oil, and carefully examined the islands and coasts for a long distance.

Memorials of the British settlers of South Africa, being records of public services held in 1844 *in commemoration of their landing in Algoa Bay in the year* 1820. Compiled by the editor of the *Grahamstown Journal*. A compact little volume of one hundred and sixty-two pages, published at Grahamstown in 1844. This work has been largely drawn from by later writers, and there is much accurate information in it. The list of the ships in which the British settlers arrived has been taken over from it so often that it is necessary I should allude to it, because I have omitted to mention the *Medusa*, named therein. The brig *Medusa* arrived in Simon's Bay on the 17th of June 1820 with naval stores for the dockyard. She brought out one family of five individuals and one unmarried man belonging to the party of British settlers. These were transferred to another vessel, and the *Medusa* proceeded to the Knysna for materials needed in the dockyard. I do not know why Mr. Godlonton included her in his list. She was not one of the transports regularly engaged for the conveyance of the emigrants, and if she is included, several other vessels that left England about the same time, and that brought out four or five individuals, should also be.

Sutherland, Lieutenant-Colonel: *Memoir respecting the Kaffers, Hottentots, and Bosjesmans of South Africa.* Two octavo volumes, published at Capetown in 1845 and 1846. This work consists chiefly of extracts from documents published by Lieutenant Moodie and of the writings of Dos Santos, with comments upon them. The author, a military officer

in the service of the East India Company, but who had political charge of some of the border tribes in Hindostan, was on furlough in South Africa, where his eccentric conduct was long remembered. He drew up a scheme for the formation of regiments of Kaffir troops, and wrote much on that subject which never appeared in print. The extracts in his two published volumes are of value, but the original matter can only be described as a curiosity of literature.

Methuen, Henry H.: *Life in the wilderness, or wanderings in South Africa.* An octavo volume of three hundred and sixteen pages, published at London in 1846. The author penetrated the interior as far as the junction of the Marikwa and Limpopo rivers, and has given in this book an account of his travels which is fairly interesting, especially to those who are fond of sporting subjects. The volume is illustrated with portraits of antelopes and some other plates which are not less true to life.

Tancred, Aug. Jos., D.D.: *Letters to Sir Peregrine Maitland, K.C.B., governor of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, on the present Kaffir war.* A volume in two parts, together comprising one hundred and forty-five octavo pages, published at Capetown in 1846 and 1847. This is the production of an able but eccentric individual, who lost all his property by the inroad of the Kaffirs, and who denounced the government with great warmth.

Case of the colonists of the eastern frontier of the Cape of Good Hope in reference to the Kaffir invasions of 1835 *and* 1846. By the editor of the *Grahamstown Journal.* A foolscap octavo volume of two hundred and thirty-six pages, published at Grahamstown in 1847. This production of Mr. Godlonton's pen has been written carefully and with the most complete knowledge of the subject.

Delegorgue, Adulphe: *Voyage dans l'Afrique Australe notamment dans le territoire de Natal &c., exécuté durant les annees* 1838-1844. Two octavo volumes, published at Paris in 1847. There is a good deal concerning the emigrant farmers in Natal in these volumes, but the information is not to be entirely depended upon.

Ward, Harriet: *Five years in Kaffirland, with sketches of the late war in that country to the conclusion of peace.* Two crown octavo volumes, published at London in 1848. The authoress was wife of Captain Ward, of the 91st regiment, and was on the frontier, in the very best position for obtaining accurate information, during the whole period of the war of the axe. The leading events of that war are faithfully described, and a correct view is given of the occurrences that led to it. Much sympathy is displayed for the suffering colonists, though as respects the ill-feeling between the burghers and soldiers, the part of the latter is decidedly taken. The errors consist in a misapprehension of Xosa words, and in a confusion of Zulus, Pondos, and Galekas; but they only reduce to a slight extent the value of a well-written and otherwise carefully compiled work.

Ward, Harriet: *The Cape and the Kaffirs: a diary of five years' residence in Kaffirland; with a chapter of advice to emigrants based on the latest official returns and the most recent information regarding the colony.* A crown octavo volume of two hundred and thirty-eight pages, the third edition of which was issued at London in 1851. The greater part of this book is an abridgment of the volumes referred to above, and the remainder is of no value.

Bunbury, Charles J. F.: *Journal of a residence at the Cape of Good Hope, with excursions into the interior, and notes on the natural history and the native tribes.* An octavo volume of two hundred and ninety-seven pages, published at London in 1848. This book is considerably above the general average of works on South Africa by casual visitors. Many of the historical references are erroneous, but the author's botanical observations, his account of Sir George Napier's first visit to the Kaffir border, his remarks on the Stockenstrom treaties, and his description of the public schools in the colony are accurate and interesting. Sir John Herschel's memorandum on education is embodied in this book.

Stockenstrom, Sir Andries: *Narrative of transactions connected with the Kaffir war of* 1846 *and* 1847, *embracing correspondence between Sir P. Maitland, Lieutenant-Colonel M. Johnstone, Sir A. Stockenstrom, and others.* An octavo volume of one hundred and forty-nine pages, published at Grahamstown in 1848. It is necessary to study this volume when preparing a history of the colony, but an ordinary blue-book is light reading compared with it.

Ordinances, proclamations, &c., &c., relating to the colony of Natal. An octavo volume of two hundred pages, published officially at Capetown in 1848.

Nicholson, George: *The Cape and its colonists, with hints to settlers.* An octavo volume of two hundred and ninety pages, published at London in 1849. The author spent a few years as a farmer in the district of Graaff-Reinet, but not being able to make his occupation pay, he returned to England. His account of the colony is rather gloomy, but not altogether incorrect, though there is not much to be learned from a perusal of his book.

Napier, Lieutenant-Colonel E. Elers: *Excursions in Southern Africa, including a history of the Cape Colony, an account of the native tribes, &c., &c.* Two crown octavo volumes, published at London in 1850. The author was an officer sent out on special service during the war of 1846-7. He was not long enough in the country to gather material for a correct and complete history or for a description of the native tribes; but he produced a fairly good book, though somewhat discursive.

Freeman, Rev. J. J.: *A tour in South Africa, with notices of Natal, &c.* A crown octavo volume of three hundred and sixty-five pages, published at London in 1851. The author of this work was home secretary of the London missionary society, and was deputed by that

body to visit its stations in South Africa. A single quotation from this book will show how distorted were the views of its author. Referring to the war of the axe, he says: "Sir Peregrine Maitland made war against the Kaffirs in 1846, and a more unjustifiable resort to the dreadful appeal to arms history does not record."

Harris, Captain William Cornwallis: *The wild sports of Southern Africa, being the narrative of a hunting expedition through the territories of the chief Moselekatse to the tropic of Capricorn.* A very handsome royal octavo volume, with map and numerous coloured illustrations. The fifth edition was published at London in 1852. Captain—afterwards General—Harris travelled and hunted in the interior of South Africa in 1836, when he visited the chief Moselekatse. His account of the country and the people is one of the very best ever given, and his book contains also a great deal of accurate information upon the disasters that befell the first parties of emigrant farmers.

Earl Grey: *The colonial policy of Lord John Russell's administration.* Two octavo volumes, published at London in 1853.

Adderley, Right Hon. C. B.: *Review of Earl Grey's colonial policy of Lord John Russell's administration.* An octavo volume of one hundred and ninety-two pages, published at London in 1869.

Correspondence of Lieutenant-General the hon. Sir George Cathcart. A royal octavo volume of four hundred and one pages, published at London in 1856. It is chiefly a reprint from blue-books.

Stuart, J.: *De Hollandsche Afrikanen en hunne republiek in Zuid Afrika.* An octavo volume of four hundred and forty-five pages, published at Amsterdam in 1854. A large portion of this book is of little or no value now, but there is some information upon the emigrant farmers in it that is not obtainable elsewhere.

Newman, Rev. W. A.: *Biographical memoir of John Montagu, with a sketch of some of the public affairs connected with the colony of the Cape of Good Hope during his administration as colonial secretary from* 1843 *to* 1853. An octavo volume of six hundred and twelve pages, published at London in 1855. This is an admirable description of the best side of Mr. Montagu's character, and an accurate account of various transactions with which he was connected; but he is shown in too favourable a light, and the book cannot be regarded as perfectly impartial. The hardness of the man's character, his pitiless collection of the arrear taxes in cases which involved great misery, and his dislike—amounting almost to disdain—of the old South African colonists are never once alluded to.

Shooter, Rev. Joseph: *The Kaffirs of Natal and the Zulu country.* An octavo volume of four hundred and three pages, published at London in 1857. The author lived over four years in Natal, and being of an inquiring turn of mind, spent his spare time in making investigations into Bantu customs and beliefs. His work is largely a compilation, but it has been fairly well put together, and will repay perusal.

Calderwood, Rev. H.: *Caffres and Caffre missions, with preliminary chapters on the Cape Colony as a field for emigration and basis of missionary operation.* A crown octavo volume of two hundred and thirty-four pages, published at London in 1858. An excellent little book, though it does not contain much historical information.

. *History of the Basutus.* By the *Argus* commissioner. A little volume of one hundred and forty-three pages, published at Capetown in 1858. As a guide to Basuto history this work is valuable, but its author had not seen the documents referring to the tribe in the colonial archives, and he was a strong partisan of Moshesh.

Grout, Rev. Lewis: *Zululand, or life among the Zulu-Kafirs of Natal and Zululand, South Africa.* A crown octavo volume of three hundred and fifty-one pages, published at London after 1860, date not given. Mr. Grout had been fifteen years a missionary of the American board among the Zulus when he wrote this book, and he had prepared a grammar of the Zulu language. His work is interesting, generally trustworthy, and indispensable to a student of Bantu customs and of mission work in South Africa.

Livingstone, David, M.D.: *A popular account of missionary travels and researches in South Africa.* A crown octavo volume of four hundred and thirty-six pages, published at London in 1861. Probably no volume upon South Africa has ever been more widely circulated than this, and its merits are unquestionably of a very high order. But Dr. Livingstone's extreme prejudice against the emigrant farmers has given a false colouring to the portions of the work referring to them, and some of his statements have over and over again been proved to be incorrect.

Casalis, Rev. E.: *The Basutos, or twenty-three years in South Africa.* An octavo volume of three hundred and fifty-five pages, published at London in 1861. There is no better book in existence than this concerning the habits and customs of the Basuto people, and it is written in a very pleasing style. It is impossible to say as much of the political portion of it, though that also is of service to a historian as showing the views adopted by the French missionaries in the Lesuto, and which caused them to be regarded as the champions of the wildest pretensions of Moshesh.

Broadbent, Rev. Samuel: *A narrative of the first introduction of Christianity amongst the Barolong tribe of Bechuanas, South Africa; with a brief summary of the subsequent history of the Wesleyan mission to the same people.* A little volume of two hundred and four pages, published at London in 1865. An interesting and reliable work.

A compendium of Kaffir laws and customs, including genealogical tables of Kaffir chiefs and various tribal census returns. Compiled by direction of Colonel Maclean, C.B., chief commissioner in British Kaffraria. An octavo volume of one hundred and sixty-four pages, the second edition of which was published at Capetown by the government in 1866. It is a valuable text-book upon the subject to which it refers.

Holden, Rev. William: *The past and future of the Kaffir races; in three parts: their history, their manners and customs, and the means needful for their preservation and improvement.* An octavo volume of five hundred and sixteen pages, published at London in 1866. The first part of this book is fairly accurate, the second part is correct to a letter, but with the progress of time the speculative remarks in the third part have ceased to be of interest.

Chapman, James, F.R.G.S.: *Travels in the interior of South Africa, comprising fifteen years' hunting and trading; with journeys across the continent from Natal to Walvisch Bay, and visits to Lake Ngami and the Victoria Falls.* Two octavo volumes, published at London in 1868. As regards the tribes of the interior this book contains a great deal of information, but it is as unfriendly to the emigrant farmers as even the celebrated work of Dr. Livingstone. The hunting adventures are told with the zest of a Gordon Cumming.

Callaway, Rev. Canon, M.D.: *Nursery tales, traditions, and histories of the Zulus in their own words, with a translation into English, and notes.* An octavo volume of three hundred and seventy-four pages, printed in Natal and published at London in 1868. No other published collection of tales illustrating Bantu ideas and power of thought equals this in value. From an intimate knowledge of the subject I can vouch for the absolute accuracy of its contents.

M'Carter, Rev. John: *The Dutch reformed church in South Africa, with notices of the other denominations.* A small volume of one hundred and fifty-two pages, published at Edinburgh in 1869. The historical sketch is very brief, and does not profess to enter into details, but the general information given is correct. The book was intended to bring the condition of the church to the notice of people in Scotland.

Wilmot and Chase: *History of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope; from its discovery to the year* 1819 *by A. Wilmot, Esq., from* 1820 *to* 1868 *by the hon. John Centlivres Chase, M.L.C.* An octavo volume of five hundred and forty-seven pages, published at Capetown in 1869. Mr. Wilmot made all the use that was possible of printed matter upon the colony before 1820, but he had not access to the manuscript archives. Mr. Chase was one of the British settlers of 1820, and wrote from personal knowledge, but more as a politician advocating the division of the colony into two than as an impartial historian. As a pioneer work this book must be spoken of with respect, and assuredly no small amount of time and labour was bestowed upon the preparation of the first portion of it. It is now out of print, and is rarely met with. Before 1892 there was not a copy even in the South African public library at Capetown.

Cumming, Roualeyn Gordon: *Five years' adventures in the far interior of South Africa, with notices of the native tribes and savage animals.* The seventh edition is a crown octavo volume of three hundred and seventy-three pages, published at London in 1873. There is a considerable

amount of information upon the interior tribes in this book, mixed with accounts of slaughter of animals by one who revelled in the destruction of whatever had life. Any one who reads the work, and reflects upon the result of the trade in guns which its author carried on between 1843 and 1849, will not be surprised at the efforts made by the emigrant farmers north of the Vaal river to put a stop to commerce of this kind.

Theal, George M'Call: *Kaffir folklore, or a selection from the traditional tales current among the people living on the eastern border of the Cape Colony. With copious explanatory notes.* An octavo volume of two hundred and twenty-four pages, published at London in 1882. The tales in this volume are some of those collected by me during a residence of many years on the Kaffir border, when I was in close intercourse with various sections of the Xosa tribe.

Theal, George M'Call: *South Africa as it is.* A pamphlet of sixty-four closely printed pages, published at King-Williamstown in 1870. It is of no value now, as its contents have been expanded into the volumes next named.

Theal, George M'Call: *Compendium of South African history and geography.* The first edition of this book was published at the Lovedale missionary institution in 1874, the third edition in 1877. The last is in two parts, together four hundred and forty-four demy pages in small type. The information in this work was derived from blue-books, printed books upon South Africa, intercourse with colonists, Kaffir traditions, and knowledge obtained while editing a newspaper. Since it was prepared I have been almost constantly engaged in researches in the manuscript archives of South Africa at Capetown, the Hague, and London, and in consequence of the additional knowledge gained am now obliged to pronounce my own former work defective and incorrect in many respects.

Brooks, Henry: *Natal, a history and description of the colony, including its natural features, productions, industrial condition, and prospects.* By Henry Brooks, for many years a resident there. Edited by Dr. R. J. Mann, late superintendent general of education in Natal. An octavo volume of three hundred and thirty-six pages, published at London in 1876. This is an excellent work, and is beautifully illustrated.

The history of Southern and Central Africa: its topography, geography, natural productions, &c., &c.; the whole embracing the results of the travels and researches of the most celebrated and eminent African explorers. A quarto volume of nine hundred and forty-eight pages, of which one hundred and sixty are devoted to South Africa. It was published at London, but the compiler's name is not given, nor the date of publication, which was subsequent to 1876. The chapters relating to South Africa are chiefly composed of extracts from other works, many of which are trustworthy; but there are several very misleading statements in the portions which appear to be original.

Hofstede, H. J.: *Geschiedenis van den Oranje-Vrijstaat, in verband met eene korte geschiedenis der aangrenzende kolonien, vooral der Kaap Kolonie, volgens bezworen verklaringen der voortrekkers, en de archieven, documenten, en proclamatien; met schetsen en kaarten opgehelderd.* An octavo volume of two hundred and fifty-one pages, published at the Hague in 1876. Mr. Hofstede has not made such good use of the material at his disposal as he might have done, and his book cannot be regarded as either reliable or interesting.

Noble, John: *South Africa past and present: a short history of the European settlements at the Cape.* A crown octavo volume of three hundred and forty-five pages, published at London in 1877. This is an excellent book, clearly and fairly written. Mr. Noble, who held the position of clerk of the house of assembly of the Cape Colony, also prepared three different handbooks of the Cape Colony, published in 1875, 1878, and 1886. Further, he edited *Poems, essays, and sketches by W. R. Thomson, with a memoir*, Capetown, 1868; and *Afar in the desert and other South African poems by Thomas Pringle, with a memoir*, Capetown and London, 1881.

Cannon, Richard, principal clerk of the adjutant-general's office: *History of the Cape mounted riflemen, with a brief account of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope. Illustrated with drawings of the standards and the costume of an officer of the corps.* Forty octavo pages, London, (date obliterated in the copy before me). This is one of the little volumes of *Historical records of the British army, comprising the history of every regiment in the service*, prepared by command of William IV, and published under the patronage of her Majesty the queen. The brief account of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope is full of errors.

Oates, Frank: *Matabeleland and the Victoria Falls, a naturalist's wanderings in the interior of South Africa.* From the letters and journals of the late Frank Oates, F.R.G.S. Edited by C. G. Oates. An octavo volume of four hundred and nineteen pages, published at London in 1881. This volume contains an excellent description of the difficulties that a traveller in the interior of South Africa not so long since had to encounter and overcome. The information concerning the Matabele and the tribes subject to them, though somewhat scant, is very correct. A large portion of the book—one hundred and twelve pages—is taken up with descriptions by competent men of specimens of natural history collected by Mr. Oates, and sent to England after his death. After visiting the great falls on the Zambesi, the talented traveller succumbed to fever on the 5th of February 1875, and was buried by his companions some distance north of Tati. The volume is well illustrated with maps and plates.

Kermode, William: *Natal, its early history, rise, progress, and future prospects.* A fairly interesting handbook of two hundred and twenty-seven crown octavo pages, published at London in 1882.

Basutoland records: copies of official documents of various kinds, accounts of travellers, &c. With maps and sketches of boundary lines. Collected and arranged by order of the hon. J. W. Sauer, Esq., secretary for native affairs, by George M'Call Theal, then first clerk in the native affairs department of the Cape Colony. Three royal octavo volumes, together two thousand one hundred and forty-two pages, covering the period from 1833 to 1868, were published at Capetown in 1883. Sufficient material for another volume was in readiness for the printer when the Cape Colony was relieved of the administration of Basutoland, and a continuation of the work was not needed. The volumes printed contain everything in the archives of the Cape Colony, the late Orange Free State, and the Paris evangelical missionary society, relating to Basutoland from 1833 to 1868, besides many extracts from newspapers and accounts of travellers.

While preparing my chapters upon Natal I had before me the following books, some of which were useful in their day, but have since given place to more elaborate productions, while others are permanently interesting, but need no remarks: *Natal, Cape of Good Hope, comprising descriptions of this well-endowed colony from the year* 1575 *to the present time by government officials and travellers.* By J. S. Christopher, of Natal. An octavo volume of one hundred and forty-six pages, published at London in 1850. *A journal of the bishop's visitation tour through the Cape Colony in* 1850. A small volume of two hundred and twenty-seven pages, published at London in 1852. A portion of this volume is devoted to Natal and the Orange River Sovereignty. *The dorp and the veld, or six months in Natal.* By Charles Barter, B.C.L. A crown octavo volume of two hundred and fifty-nine pages, published at London in 1852. *History of the colony of Natal, South Africa, to which is added an appendix containing a brief history of the Orange River Sovereignty.* By the reverend William C. Holden, upwards of fifteen years a resident in the colony. A demy octavo volume of four hundred and sixty-three pages, published at London in 1855. *Ten weeks in Natal.* By John William Colenso, D.D., bishop of the diocese. A small but very interesting volume of two hundred and seventy-one pages, published at Cambridge in 1855. *Life with the Zulus of Natal, South Africa.* By G. H. Mason. A crown octavo volume of two hundred and thirty-two pages, published at London in 1855. *The settlers' guide to the Cape of Good Hope and Natal.* By W. Irons. A small volume of two hundred and thirty pages, published at London in 1858. *The colony of Natal.* By Robert James Mann, M.D., F.R.A.S., superintendent of education in Natal. A demy octavo volume of two hundred and twenty-nine pages, published at London in 1859. *Emigrants' guide-book to Port Natal.* By James Arbuthnot. A small volume of one hundred and forty-three pages, published at Aberdeen in 1862. *Natal en Nieuw Gelderland.* Door W. K. Ente. A pamphlet of forty pages, published at Arnhem in 1862. *Narrative of the entrance of the Conch at Port Natal with*

troops to relieve Captain Smith. By William Bell, who commanded the *Conch.* A pamphlet of twenty-four pages, published at Durban in 1869. *Notes on Natal.* By John Robinson, F.R.G.S. A small volume of two hundred and twenty-seven pages, published at Durban in 1872. *The Emigrants' Guide to the Colony of Natal.* By Robert James Mann, F.R.A.S., &c., late Superintendent of Education in the Colony, and recently Special Immigration Commissioner for the Natal Government. Second edition. A crown octavo pamphlet of two hundred and six pages, published at London in 1873. *Among the Zulus and Amatongas, with sketches of the natives, &c.* By the late David Leslie. Edited by the hon. W. H. Drummond. A crown octavo volume of four hundred and thirty-six pages, published at Glasgow in 1875. *Natal, Transvaal, and Zululand.* By W. Hartley, thirty years a resident in Natal Colony. A pamphlet of ninety-two pages, published at Leeds in 1879. *The Zulus and Boers of South Africa.* By Robert James Mann, M.D., late superintendent of education in Natal. A pamphlet of eighty pages, published at London in 1879. *Amazulu: the Zulus, their past history, manners, customs, and language, with observations on the country and its productions.* By Thomas B. Jenkinson, B.A., late canon of Maritzburg. A crown octavo volume of two hundred and fourteen pages, published at London in 1882. *Our colony of Natal.* By Walter Peace, Natal government emigration agent. An octavo volume of one hundred and seventy-four pages, published at London in 1883. *Zululand and the Zulus, being an enlargement upon two lectures delivered by Fred. B. Fynney, Inspector of Native Schools, Natal (late Border Agent), under the titles of The Rise and Fall of the Zulu Nation and our Native Tribes: their Customs, Superstitions, and Beliefs.* A pamphlet of fifty-two pages, published at Maritzburg (date not given). *Is the Kafir population in Natal Alien or Aboriginal? A brief inquiry.* By John Bird, late of the civil service, and compiler of the *Annals of Natal.* A pamphlet of twenty-nine pages, published at Pietermaritzburg in 1890.

The autobiography of the late Sir Andries Stockenstrom, Bart., sometime lieutenant-governor of the eastern province of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope. Edited by his son-in-law, the honourable C. W. Hutton, M.E.C., Cape of Good Hope. With a preface by his honour S. G. A. Shiphard, C.M.G., administrator of British Bechuanaland. Two thick crown octavo volumes, published at Capetown in 1887. A less conscientious man than Mr. Hutton would have expunged a very great deal that appears in these volumes. The word autobiography is to some extent misleading, for the matter consists of extracts from Stockenstrom's journal, despatches, and other documents, with connecting paragraphs by the editor. The effect is produced, however, of representing the man as he saw himself, which is what an autobiography purports to do. A simple biography by an impartial writer would certainly show him in a more favourable light. His jealousy of Colonel Somerset, the vituperative language in which he was wont to indulge when referring to his opponents, his

habit of making undefined charges, his persistence in maintaining accusations after the most absolute proof of their being unfounded, are all represented without an effort at concealment. Even the connecting paragraphs are skilfully made to correspond in style with the other matter. Thus we read of conspirators and of a conspiracy being unmasked after it was proved that there was no such thing as a conspiracy at all. The work does not pretend in the slightest degree to be an impartial account of Stockenstrom's actions. There is no representation whatever of the views of those who disagreed with him. Thus in the celebrated trial, the opinions of Attorney-General Oliphant alone are quoted, Mr. Oliphant having been his principal advocate on that occasion. The whole of his own address before the military court appears, but not a word of the summing up on the other side. To such an extent is this principle acted upon throughout the book that matters of the very greatest importance in Stockenstrom's career, such as his evidence before the committee of the commons, are almost completely ignored. It follows also that many of the best points in his character have not had justice done to them. One must know a great deal of the history of the times, and look deeply between the lines of this work, to discover the really good qualities of the man. In short, though these volumes present an exceedingly accurate picture of Stockenstrom's manner of defending himself against adversaries, the general reader need not expect to derive much further information from them.

Hewitt, Rev. James Alexander: *Sketches of English church history in South Africa from* 1795 *to* 1848. A crown octavo volume of one hundred and thirty-seven pages, published at Capetown in 1887. This little volume bears evidence of a large amount of research, yet when a second edition is called for it would be possible to make several improvements. The conversion of the paper rixdollar into English money at the rate of one shilling and six pence, for instance, is incorrect before 1825. Mr. De Mist's regulations also were not intended to operate as represented. The omission of any notice of the ecclesiastical board in London, to which reports by clergymen in South Africa had to be sent, is also a defect, though perhaps a trifling one. The word *probably* might be left out in reference to the reason for St. Frances' church at Simonstown bearing that designation. This edifice is not the only one in South Africa that owes its name to a modern patroness, as may be seen from the following copy of a document deposited on the 6th of October 1825 under the corner stone of the church at Port Elizabeth in the adjoining parish to that of which Dr. Hewitt is at present rector, when that stone was laid by Captain Evatt as proxy for the governor: "THIS CHURCH WAS ERECTED BY THE LAUDABLE EXERTIONS OF THE INHABITANTS OF PORT ELIZABETH UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF

MARY

THE TRULY AMIABLE CONSORT OF HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD CHARLES SOMERSET," &c., &c. While noticing a few mistakes of

small importance, it is but right to add that the information given in this volume is in general exceedingly accurate.

The Annals of Natal, 1495 *to* 1845. Arranged by John Bird, late of the civil service, Natal. Two royal octavo volumes, together twelve hundred and sixteen pages, published at Pietermaritzburg in 1888. This work has been very carefully and faithfully executed by Mr. Bird. Some years before he commenced his task, I went through the documents which he afterwards collected and arranged, otherwise his compilation would have been of great service to me. I know of no English document of importance that is not included in it, and of very few Dutch. It is a work of permanent value for historical purposes.

Galton, Francis: *Narrative of an explorer in tropical South Africa, being an account of a visit to Damaraland in* 1851. Copies of the original edition of this work, crown octavo, three hundred and fourteen pages, issued in 1853, are now rarely obtainable, but a reprint was published at London in 1889 in one hundred and ninety-two crown octavo pages. It is a most interesting and trustworthy book.

Russell, Robert: *Natal, the land and its story. A geography and history for the use of schools.* A crown octavo volume of two hundred and seventy-five pages, published at Maritzburg in 1891. This book is upon the whole correctly written, but there are several statements in it that need revision. Thus the Orange river is said to have been discovered by Colonel Gordon in 1778, whereas it was known to Europeans long before that date. The Bantu tribes in Natal are stated to have lived for hundreds of years before the time of Tshaka in peace and comfort, without being disturbed by wars or rumours of wars. In point of fact, there was tranquillity in the country for a short period before the time of Tshaka, and those who escaped from his spears loved as old age crept upon them to talk of that happy period; but as soon as one gets beneath the surface of Bantu traditions anywhere in South Africa, it becomes certain that the normal condition of things was pillage and bloodshed. As to the number of blacks in Natal when the Dutch entered it, Mr. Russell should consult the accounts of numerous English travellers, hunters, and residents who have left records on that subject. Several other inaccuracies might be pointed out, but the merits of the book far exceed its defects.

Brown, Rev. George: *Personal Adventure in South Africa.* A foolscap octavo volume of three hundred and thirty-five pages, published at London in 1855. This book contains an account of the destruction of the Igqibira station in Stokwe's country, where the author was a missionary, on the 27th of December 1850, the enforced flight of Mrs. Brown and her infant, during her husband's absence, to Fort White and subsequently to the Gwali station, his vain attempt to find and rescue her and their child, the abandonment of the Gwali station on the 20th of January 1851 by the resident missionary, the reverend Mr. Cumming, and others, and the author's residence there with his family and that of

his mother-in-law, the widow Chalmers, until the 19th of February 1852, when the party was removed to Alice by a military escort and the station was destroyed. To any one who, like myself, was acquainted with many of the Kaffirs as well as of the Europeans continually mentioned by the reverend Mr. Brown, and to whom the scene is familiar ground, this little volume is interesting; but it cannot be said that it adds much to the materials for preparing a history of South Africa. In his observations upon the Kaffirs the author is unduly severe, though allowances must be made for a man whose wife was turned out of her home and nearly stripped, and whose books, clothing, and all other effects were wasted by the people he had been endeavouring to instruct.

Lakeman, Sir Stephen: *What I saw in Kaffirland.* A crown octavo volume of two hundred and eleven pages, published at London in 1880. This book contains an account of its author's efforts to have the minie rifle substituted in the British army for the old musket, of his being permitted to raise a volunteer corps at the Cape of two hundred men to serve in the Kaffir war of 1850-3, and of providing them with minie rifles at his own expense, as an experiment. Particulars are given of his passage out, of the enlistment in Capetown of the volunteers, of their journey to the front and their services at the Waterkloof, where the superiority of the minie rifle to the musket was fully proved. The book is brightly written—in places somewhat overdrawn,—but does not enter into details except of the peculiarities of some of the men under his command; and for historical purposes it is of little value.

Since 1805 a directory has been published yearly in Capetown, containing a list of all officials and the other information usually found in works of that kind. The volumes for 1805 and 1806 are in Dutch, and are entitled *Lijst van alle collegien, civiele en kerkelijke ambtenaren in de Bataafsche volkplanting aan den zuidpunt van Afrika.* From 1807 to 1814 the volumes are entitled *The African Court Calendar*, from 1815 to 1826 *The African Court Calendar and Directory*, and from 1827 onward *The South African Almanack and Directory.* They were published with the sanction and assistance of the government. The series in the South African public library is complete.

The pamphlet literature of this period is great in quantity, but much of it is valueless now. For historical purposes the following are the most important:

Reports of the committee and sub-committee of the society for the relief of distressed settlers in South Africa. Various pamphlets published at Capetown in 1823 and 1824.

Letter from Sir Rufane Donkin to Earl Bathurst, dated 6th April 1827. Published at London in 1827. This letter with its annexures forms a pamphlet of one hundred and eighty-one pages.

Observations by Lieutenant-Colonel Bird on Sir Rufane Donkin's letter to Earl Bathurst. A pamphlet of thirty-two pages, published at Capetown in 1827.

Cursory remarks on a letter from Sir Rufane Shawe Donkin to Earl Bathurst. By a bystander. A pamphlet of fifty-six pages, published at Capetown in 1827.

Papers explaining the cause of Lord Bathurst's last interference with the press at the Cape of Good Hope. By John Fairbairn. A pamphlet of eighty pages, published at London in 1827.

Annual reports of the Cape of Good Hope philanthropic society for aiding deserving slaves and slave children to purchase their freedom. Pamphlets published at Capetown from 1828 to 1833.

Considerations on the exact position of the slave question. By Thomas Miller. A pamphlet of forty pages, published at Capetown in 1831.

Practical considerations on the exact position of the slave question, as far as it regards the colony of the Cape of Good Hope. By John Centlivres Chase. A pamphlet of thirty-six pages, published at Capetown in 1831.

Slavery at the Cape of Good Hope. By the reverend William Wright. A pamphlet of one hundred and seven pages, published at London in 1831.

Verslag der gehoudene bijeenkomst op Maandag den 17den September 1832. A pamphlet of thirty-four pages, published at Capetown in 1832.

Summary of the Kaffir war of 1834-5. By the editor of the *Zuid Afrikaan.* An octavo pamphlet of sixteen pages, published at Capetown in 1836. The facts are correctly stated, but the account is too short to be of much value.

The causes of the Kaffir war of 1834-5 *explained, and a plan for the preservation of peace and the security of the frontier proposed.* An octavo pamphlet of forty pages, published at Capetown in 1836. The author's name is not given. He bases his statements on the view that there is no difference between the Kaffir and the white man but such as is caused by education and the light of religion. His history is very misleading, and his conclusions cannot be sustained.

Abstract of proceedings of the board of relief for the destitute, appointed in Grahamstown by his Excellency Sir Benjamin D'Urban, K.C.B., governor and commander-in-chief at the Cape of Good Hope, with a view to mitigate the sufferings of the frontier inhabitants occasioned by the irruption of the Cafir tribes into the eastern province of that colony during the years 1834-5. A pamphlet of ninety-seven pages, published at Capetown in 1836.

A succinct account of the Kaffer's case, comprising facts illustrative of the causes of the late war and of the influence of Christian missions, in a letter to T. Fowell Buxton, Esq., M.P., &c., &c. By Stephen Kay, late missionary. An octavo pamphlet of ninety-two pages, published at London in 1837. The author's *facts* should in many cases have been termed *fancies.* His accusations of the colonial government, and especially his strictures upon the commando against the Amangwane, are altogether overdrawn. The pamphlet is in full accord with the sentiments of Lord Glenelg.

Further papers illustrative of the case of the Roman catholic church at the Cape of Good Hope. An octavo pamphlet of seventy-nine pages, published at Capetown in 1833.

Wood, William: *Statements respecting Dingan, King of the Zoolahs.* A pamphlet of thirty-eight pages, published at Capetown in 1840. Wood was for some time a resident at Umkungunhlovu, and relates what he saw there.

Correspondence between Donald Moodie, Esq., compiler and editor of the Cape Records, and the reverend John Philip, D.D., author of Researches in South Africa, relative to the production for publication of alleged official authority for the statement that "in the year 1774 *the whole race of Bushmen or Hottentots who had not submitted to servitude was ordered to be seized or extirpated."* A pamphlet of eighty-two pages, published at Capetown in 1841. A more thorough refutation of some of the charges made by Dr. Philip against the Cape government in his *Researches in South Africa* there could not be.

Report of the proceedings at a public meeting held in the commercial hall, Capetown, on the 24th of August 1841, *to petition the home government for a representative legislative assembly. With notes in illustration, and a correspondence which ensued between his Excellency Sir George Napier, K.C.B., the honourable John Bardwell Ebden, and Mr. Justice Menzies.* An octavo pamphlet of sixty-seven pages, published at Capetown in 1841.

Report of the central board of relief for destitute sufferers by the Kaffir war in 1846. A pamphlet of forty-nine pages, published at Grahamstown in 1847.

Redevoering bij het tweede eeuw-feest, ter herinnering aan de vestiging der Christelyke kerk in Zuid Afrika, gehouden in de groote kerk in de Kaapstad op Dingsdag den 6den April 1852 *door Abraham Faure.* A pamphlet of ninety-one pages, published at Capetown in 1852.

Stretch, C. Lennox: *Blockdrift.* A pamphlet of twenty-five pages, published at Grahamstown in 1855.

Geschiedenis van het ontstaan der Nederduitsch gereformeerde gemeente van Kruisvallei. A collection of documents arranged by Mr. Johannes Jacobus Bosman, forming a pamphlet of one hundred and four pages, published at Capetown in 1886.

The newspapers and magazines to be consulted upon this period of South African history are:

The Government Gazette, continuous from the 16th of August 1800. Files are in the South African public library and in the archives of the colonial secretary's department.

The South African Commercial Advertiser. Files as above.

The South African Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser. Files as above.

The Colonist. A weekly newspaper of eight quarto pages, published at Capetown from the 22nd of November 1827 to the 30th of September 1828.

The Grahamstown Journal. File in the archives of the colonial secretary's department.

De Zuid Afrikaan. As the preceding.

Het Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaansch Tijdschrift. This magazine contains much useful matter, especially in the chronicle with which each number ends. It was published every two months from April 1824 to December 1842, when it was discontinued for a time.

The South African Journal. It was intended that this magazine should be published in English alternately with the *Tijdschrift* in Dutch, but only two numbers appeared.

The South African Quarterly Journal. Published at Capetown from October 1829 to October 1831 and from October 1833 to September 1835. Edited by the South African Literary and Scientific Institution. Contains much valuable matter.

The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette. A monthy magazine in quarto form published at Capetown from 1831 to 1833.

The Cape of Good Hope Literary Magazine. Published monthly in octavo form at Capetown during 1847 and 1848. It is of very little value.

The following are the most important bluebooks that I have consulted. I have a large collection, but as the original official documents were used by me, bluebooks were not needed.

Papers relative to the condition and treatment of the native inhabitants of Southern Africa within the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, or beyond the frontier of that colony. Part I, two hundred and twenty-seven pages. London, 1835. Part II, one hundred and fifty-seven pages. London, 1835.

Report from the select committee on aborigines (British settlements), together with the minutes of evidence, appendix, and index. In all eleven hundred and forty-five pages. London, 1836 and 1837. A bluebook such as this, the result of the labour of a committee of the house of commons from the 31st of July 1835 to the 26th of June 1837, must be treated with respect; yet it is impossible not to express amazement when comparing the report with the evidence, even after making due allowance for the absence of the light that in recent years has been cast upon the events under investigation. The chairman of the committee was Mr. Fowell Buxton. One has only to read a few pages to observe that his questions to the witnesses were not those of a judge seeking to elicit the truth, but those of an advocate endeavouring to establish a case. But even then, the bulk of the reliable evidence was in direct opposition to the spirit of the report. In the opinion of the majority of the members the evidence of the reverend Dr. Philip must have more than counterbalanced that of all the military officers of experience on the Kaffir frontier and of Lieutenant-Colonel Wade, who was military secretary during the whole term of Sir Lowry Cole's administration, and who afterwards acted as governor. Sir Rufane Donkin was a member of the committee, and he objected to Dr. Philip's evidence being taken, but was without a single supporter. Every sane truthful man, unbiassed and thoroughly acquainted with the South African tribes in question, will now

admit that the natives of whom Dr. Philip gave evidence were not real people of flesh and blood, but entirely creatures of his own imagination. They bore African names, but had nothing else African pertaining to them. No one, for instance, except Dr. Philip has ever seen Bushmen who had made a waggon or a plough, or who had cultivated ground in any manner for themselves. His statements and the papers which he put in form a very large portion of the bluebook. He took with him to England a Hottentot and the petty captain Jan Tshatshu, both of whom gave evidence before the committee. It was generally understood in England that the report was drawn up by Mr. Buxton, but it is doubtful whether part of it was not Dr. Philip's handiwork. The document created great surprise and still greater indignation when it reached South Africa. It was presently rumoured in Capetown that Dr. Philip had written from London a few weeks earlier to a friend of his here that he was going with Mr. Buxton to the country for a few days to assist in drawing up the report. That friend was urgently requested to settle the question by affirming or denying the correctness of the rumour. Instead of doing so, he replied asking whether it was likely that a man of so much experience as Mr. Buxton would need assistance of that kind, and, upon being further pressed, declined to give the information asked for. A particular statement in the report was then discovered to be an extract from Dr. Philip's work *Researches in South Africa*, and to be very incorrect, while there was not a word of evidence from any individual before the committee on the subject to which it referred. However, whether Mr. Buxton or Dr. Philip wrote the report matters little, the fact remains that it was based upon that portion of the evidence given before the committee which is now known not to have been in accordance with facts.

Return to an address of the honourable the house of commons, dated 8th March 1836, *for copies or extracts of any despatches which have been received from, or addressed to, the governor of the Cape of Good Hope, relative to the last Caffre war, and to the death of Hintsa. Also copies of the instructions given to the lieutenant-governor of the frontier districts.* A blue-book of one hundred and twenty-two pages, published at London in 1836.

Return to an address of the honourable the house of commons, dated 8th June 1837, *for copies or extracts of any further despatches which have been received from, or addressed to, the governor of the Cape of Good Hope, relative to the last Caffre war, since the papers presented to the house of commons on 10th March* 1836. A blue-book of three hundred and fifty-four pages, published at London in 1837.

Report from the governor of the Cape of Good Hope to the Secretary of the colonies relative to the condition and treatment of the children sent out by the Children's Friend Society. A blue-book of thirty-five pages, published at London in 1840.

Despatch 154 *of the right honourable Sir Henry Pottinger, Baronet, G.C.B., governor of the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, to the right honourable the Earl Grey, one of her Majesty's principal secretaries of state. With annexures.*

A blue-book of two hundred and fifty-three pages, published at Capetown in 1848.

Documents relative to the question of a separate Government for the eastern districts of the Cape Colony. A blue-book of one hundred and seventy-five pages, published at Grahamstown in 1847.

Correspondence with the governor of the Cape of Good Hope relative to the state of the Kafir tribes on the eastern frontier of the colony. A blue-book of one hundred and ninety-nine pages, and a map, published at London in 1847. Continuation of the above. One hundred and fifty-two pages. London, 1848. Further continuation. Eighty-two pages and two maps. London, 1848. Still further continuation. Forty-five pages. London, 1849.

Correspondence with the governor of the Cape of Good Hope relative to assumption of sovereignty over the territory between the Vaal and Orange rivers. A blue-book of ninety-nine pages, published at London in 1851.

Further correspondence relative to the state of the Orange River territory. A blue-book of one hundred and thirty-four pages, published at London in 1853. Continuation of above. Ninety-three pages. London, 1854.

Proceedings of, and evidence taken by, the commission on native affairs appointed by his Excellency the governor. Five hundred pages. Grahamstown, 1865.

Report and evidence of the commission on native laws and customs of the Basuto. Sixty-eight pages. Capetown, 1873.

Report and proceedings, with appendices, of the government commission on native laws and customs. Altogether more than a thousand pages. Capetown, 1883.

Evidence taken at Bloemhof before the commissioners appointed to investigate the claims of the South African Republic, Captain N. Waterboer, and certain other native chiefs, to portions of the territory on the Vaal river now known as the diamond fields. A blue-book of three hundred and ninety-two pages, published at Capetown in 1871. No care was taken in correcting the proofs of this important volume, and proper names are so misspelt that the book is almost useless to any one not well acquainted with the subject.

Griqualand West Government Gazette. With reference to particulars given by me concerning the Griquas the *Gazette* here named may be consulted. Without reference to the authorities which have been at my disposal, probably without even a knowledge of the existence of many of them, the land court of Griqualand West, which was specially constituted to investigate and decide disputes about the ownership of ground, arrived at precisely the same conclusion with regard to the Griqua claims to the territory north of the Modder river and south of the Vaal. After hearing evidence continuously for several months, on the 16th of March 1876 Judge Stockenstrom delivered an elaborate judgment upon the various classes of claims to land in what was then the crown colony of Griqualand West, in 1871 cession having been taken by the high commissioner from Nicholas Waterboer, son of Andries, of the territory containing the diamond fields.

The evidence before the court was conclusive that Waterboer had no right whatever to that part of the country. The judgment enters deeply into the history of the Griqua people. It fills sixteen columns of the *Diamond News and Griqualand West Government Gazette.*

Two volumes written avowedly to expose errors into which their authors assert I have fallen are the following :—

Colenbrander, Dr. H. T.: *De Afkomst der Boeren.* An octavo volume of one hundred and twenty-seven pages, published in Holland in 1902. The object of this book was to correct my analysis of the proportion of Dutch, French, German, and other blood in the old colonists of South Africa. In that analysis I gave the proportion as probably a little less than two-thirds Dutch, one-sixth French, and the remainder German and other nationalities; but I stated that there were one hundred and thirty-five heads of families whose nationality I could not ascertain. Dr. Colenbrander found these names in the service rolls of the Dutch East India Company, with their birthplaces, and ascertained that they were Germans. He then went into elaborate calculations, just as I had done, except that he took periods of thirty years, whereas I had taken periods of twenty-five. His results are rather over fifty per cent Dutch, twenty-seven per cent German, rather over seventeen per cent French, and the remaining five and a half per cent other nationalities. But he includes in the German all of those from the German cantons of Switzerland and all of those from Meurs, Cologne, Hanover, and other places just beyond the present political boundary of the Netherlands, whereas I regarded as Dutchmen all of the latter who brought with them attestations of membership of the Dutch reformed church. There can be very little doubt that they were really of Dutch blood, descendants of people who fled from the Netherlands in the time of Alva. Dr Colenbrander, however, in the instances of several German women whom he found in the lists at the Hague, whereas I could find but one in the colonial records, and of the hundred and thirty-five heads of families referred to above, has shown that my estimate of the proportion of German blood was too small, and in the third volume of my *History and Ethnography of South Africa before 1795*, since published, I have given the whole as about $\frac{7}{12}$ Dutch, $\frac{2}{12}$ French, $\frac{2}{12}$ German, and $\frac{1}{12}$ Swiss, Scandinavian, &c. No one can welcome more heartily than I do work done so fairly and thoroughly as Dr. Colenbrander has done his, even when the conclusions vary from mine. His list of names and dates covers eighty-six pages, and his calculations are made with the greatest care.

Cappon, James, M.A., Professor of English, Queen's University, Kingston, Canada: *Britain's Title in South Africa or the Story of Cape Colony to the days of the Great Trek.* A crown octavo volume of three hundred and thirty-nine pages, published at London in 1901. The

charges made against me in this volume are so positive in their terms and of such a serious character that no government could permit a civil servant to pass them by without notice. Very properly, therefore, my government required me to account for accusations which, if there had been even a shadow of truth in them, represented me as altogether unfit to fill the position which I hold. The first of these accusations was known by all the ministers and by most of the members of parliament to be absolutely without foundation, but some of the others were apparently supported by extracts from my volumes, and the remainder were made as if based upon the general character of my work. It was easy to show by referring to the contexts of the passages quoted by Professor Cappon in imitation of the manner of the reverend Dr. Philip, whom he greatly admires, that fairly and honestly transcribed they cannot be made to bear the interpretation he puts upon them ; and as for the rest, men quite as competent as he to pass an opinion—if not much more so—have come to a very different conclusion. He has evidently mistaken the object of my work, which was not to represent my own nationality as possessing exclusively all the virtues, but to give a faithful and unbiassed account of what took place in South Africa and the effect the different events had upon the various sections of the people. As to Professor Cappon's book, it has been written without a personal acquaintance with the country or the slightest personal knowledge of the old colonists. That perhaps would not matter so much if he had been less prone to jump at conclusions without taking the trouble of making inquiry into the circumstances upon which those conclusions were founded, and his habit of sneering at those whose principles differ from his own. Take, for instance, his reference to those excellent men, most of them Scotch clergymen, who left the London missionary society because they could not conscientiously remain longer associated with those who persisted in stirring up strife and sending home overdrawn and distorted accounts of the colonists and the missions, publishing in short just such statements as those he has made himself. He can conceive of no higher motive than ease and money making, and so, apparently regardless of the truth or falsity of the charge, he says of them (page 156) : "There were weak brethren, of course, even amongst those pioneer missionaries, men whose heart failed them when they looked on the bold eyes of a Kaffir chief or a Griqua captain ; there were cautious gentlemen amongst them too, who instead of setting up their tent in the wilderness, accepted snug state livings, and passed the rest of their lives in candid criticism of their bolder brethren's zeal on behalf of the natives." In that sentence there is as little truth as there would be in describing the disruption in Scotland in similar terms. Naturally, the government was glad to obtain the services of such pious and talented men as the reverend Messrs. Taylor and Evans and especially the reverend Dr. Thom, then the ablest clergyman in the colony, but they were neither tempted to leave the London society by an offer of higher pay, nor were they engaged until after they

had severed their connection with it, nor were they a sixpence in pocket by the change. Another sample of Professor Cappon's manner of dealing with events, of which he either forms his conclusions in utter ignorance without any attempt to verify them, or wilfully misrepresents the truth, is in reference to slave children. He seems to gloat over the vileness of the thought in his statement that "out of every four children born to a slave mother, three were the children of the white man who was her master," for he repeats it three times. A little investigation would have shown him that this was untrue, but that little research he did not take the trouble to make. It blackened the character of the colonists, and that was sufficient for him. In point of fact vice of this kind was almost unknown, and every such child was by law, rigidly enforced, free at its father's death. I need not enter further into the merits or demerits of a book in which such false and malicious charges are recklessly made, but I must add, what every man of sense will admit, that a work like Professor Cappon's can have but one tendency: that of keeping open the old sores caused by the reverend Dr. Philip and other writers who acted on the principle that the end (attracting attention and favour in forwarding their views) justifies the means, and preventing the Dutch inhabitants of South Africa from combining with their English fellow colonists and enlisting the aid of the coloured races in the noble effort to make of our country one of the greatest and most valuable sections of the British empire. We need, English, Dutch, Bantu, and coloured men of all classes, to stand shoulder to shoulder in this effort, and here is a writer doing his utmost, ignorantly or wilfully matters not, to set us in array against each other. To make his book serve any other purpose than that of a firebrand, the first 87 pages need a little revision, from page 87 to page 124 it wants to be carefully looked over and several sentences to be changed or struck out, and the remainder of the volume requires to be rewritten by some one with a broader mind, a greater regard for truth and justice, a knowledge of what the teaching he so profusely praises led to at the Kat river and Theopolis in 1851, and more patient application in research than Professor Cappon possesses.

LIST OF SOME RECENTLY PUBLISHED VOLUMES ON SOUTH AFRICA.

SOME of the volumes mentioned below are in my possession through the kindness of an esteemed friend, some others I have just obtained from a bookseller in London, but the greater number I have only glanced at in the library of the British Museum. I am not sufficiently acquainted with the contents of any of them to add notes after the titles. For further lists see pages 415 *et seq.* of Vol. V of this series. This list of books, the notes on the Bantu that follow it, the appendix in Vol. IV, and that in Vol. V are all out of place, but I am unable to rectify the matter, as this work is brought out under great difficulties. As a new edition of each volume was issued, I added to it in this form any material of importance that I had on hand, which I could not have published in any other way. The other volumes of this work were issued before the completion of the one in the reader's hands.

Abel, Clarke, F.L.S. : *Narrative of a Journey in the Interior of China, and of a Voyage to and from that Country in the Years 1816 and 1817.* Large quarto, 420 pages, London, 1818. It contains 27 pages upon the geology of the Cape, with eight plates.

Alderson, Brevet Lieut.-Colonel E. A. H. : *With the Mounted Infantry and the Mashonaland Field Force.* Demi octavo, 308 pages, London, 1898.

Alford, Charles J., F.G.S. : *Geological Features of the Transvaal, South Africa.* Demi octavo, 69 pages, London, 1891.

Appleton, Lewis, F.R.H.S. : *Britain and the Boers. Who is responsible for the War in South Africa?* Demi octavo, 109 pages, London, 1899.

Ashe, Major, and Captain the Hon. E. V. W. Edgell : *The Story of the Zulu Campaign.* Demi octavo, 408 pages, London, 1880.

Ashe, E. Oliver, M.D. : *Besieged by the Boers, a Diary of Life and Events in Kimberley during the Siege.* Crown octavo, 210 pages, London, 1900.

Aston, F. E. : *The Raid on the Transvaal by Dr. Jameson.* Crown octavo, 306 pages, London, 1897.

Atkins, John Black : *The Relief of Ladysmith.* Crown octavo, 320 pages, London, 1900.

Aubert, Georges : *L'Afrique du Sud.* Demi octavo, 480 pages, Paris, 1898.

Aylmer, Mrs. Fenton (Editor): *Bush Life, or a Woman's Adventures among the Caffres.* Foolscap octavo, 204 pages, London, 1862. This is an edition under another title of the book called *Adventures of Mrs. Colonel Somerset in Caffraria during the War.* A Romance.

Badenhorst, C. C. J.: *Uit den Boeren Oorlog.* Crown octavo, 205 pages, Amsterdam, 1903.

Baden-Powell, Colonel R. S. S.: *The Matabele Campaign, 1896, being a Narrative of the Campaign in suppressing the Native Rising in Matabeleland and Mashonaland.* Demi octavo, 500 pages, London, 1897.

Baden-Powell, Major B. F. S.: *War in Practice.* Crown octavo, 280 pages, London, 1903.

Bagot, Mrs. Dosia: *Shadows of the War.* Demi octavo, 214 pages, London, 1900.

Baillie, Major F. D.: *Mafeking, a Diary of the Siege.* Crown octavo, 299 pages, Westminster, 1900.

Balfour, Alice Blanche: *Twelve Hundred Miles in a Waggon.* Demi octavo, 265 pages, London and New York, 1895.

Barker, Lady: *A Year's Housekeeping in South Africa.* Crown octavo, 335 pages, London, 1877.

Barnard, Lieut., R.N.: *A Three Years Cruize in the Mozambique Channel for the Suppression of the Slave Trade.* Crown octavo, 319 pages, London, 1848. Contains a full account of the loss of the *Thunderbolt* in Algoa Bay.

Barnes, James: *The Great War Trek.* Crown octavo, 372 pages, New York, 1901.

Barter, Charlotte: *Home in South Africa, by a Plain Woman.* Foolscap octavo, 158 pages, London, 1867.

Barter, Charlotte: *Alone among the Zulus, by a Plain Woman. The Narrative of a Journey through the Zulu Country, South Africa.* Small octavo, 184 pages, London, 1879.

Batts, H. J.: *Pretoria from Within during the War 1899-1900.* Crown octavo, 231 pages, London, 1901.

Baty, T.: *International Law in South Africa.* Demi octavo, 127 pages, London, 1900.

Baynes, Right Rev. Arthur Hamilton, D.D., Bishop of Natal: *My Diocese during the War.* Crown octavo, 266 pages, London, 1900.

Bellairs, Lady (Editor): *The Transvaal War 1880-81.* Demi octavo, 491 pages, London and Edinburgh, 1885.

Bell, Fred. W., F.S.S.: *The South African Conspiracy or the Aims of Afrikanderdom.* Demi octavo, 248 pages, London, 1900.

Benham, Rev. Canon (Editor): *Henry Callaway, M.D., D.D., first Bishop for Kaffraria: his Life-History and Work.* Crown octavo, 368 pages, London, 1896.

Beswick, F.: *Outlines of Chief Events in the History of South Africa.* Foolscap octavo, 62 pages, Capetown, 1898.

Blennerhassett, Rose, and Lucy Sleeman: *Adventures in Mashonaland of two Hospital Nurses.* Post octavo, 340 pages, London and New York, 1893.

Bordeaux, Albert: *Rhodésie et Transvaal.* Crown octavo, 284 pages, Paris, 1898.

Bourne, H. R. Fox, Secretary of the Aborigines Protection Society: *Matabeleland and the Chartered Company.* Demi octavo, 40 pages, London, no date (after 1896).

Bourne, H. R. Fox: *Bechuana Troubles: a Story of Pledge-Breaking, Rebel-Making and Slave-Making in a British Colony.* Demi octavo, 48 pages, London, 1898.

Bourne, H. R. Fox: *Blacks and Whites in South Africa: an Account of the Past Treatment and Present Condition of South African Natives under British and Boer Control.* Royal octavo, 93 pages, London, 1900.

Bousfield, Right Rev. H. B., Bishop of Pretoria: *Six Years in the Transvaal. Notes on the Founding of the Church there.* Small volume, 96 pages, London, 1886.

van Breemen, B. H.: *Schetzen en Beelden uit Zuid Afrika.* Crown octavo, 125 pages, Amsterdam, 1882.

Brigg, Arthur: *Sunny Fountains and Golden Sand: Pictures of Missionary Life in the South of the Dark Continent.* Crown octavo, 256 pages, London, 1888.

Briggs, Lady: *The Staff Work of the Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1901.* Demi octavo, 503 pages, London, 1901.

British Africa. Volume II of the British Empire Series. Large post octavo, 413 pages, London, 1899.

Bron, Alice: *Diary of a Nurse in South Africa, being a Narrative of Experiences in the Boer and English Hospital Service.* Crown octavo, 208 pages, London, 1901.

Brooke-Hunt, Violet: *A Woman's Memories of the War.* Crown octavo, 244 pages, London, 1901.

Brown, Harold, B.A.: *War with the Boers: an Account of the Past and Present Troubles with the South African Republics.* Four crown quarto illustrated volumes, London, 1901.

Brown, Stanley M'Keown: *With the Royal Canadians.* Crown octavo, 291 pages, Toronto, 1900.

Bruce, M. C.: *The New Transvaal.* Crown octavo, 117 pages, London, 1908.

Brunker, Lieut.-Colonel H. M. E.: *Boer War, 1899-1900. Chart showing Organization and Distribution of the British Forces with a List of Military and Naval Officers, and an Account of the Organization and Administration of the Boer Forces, etc.* Demi octavo, 145 pages, London, 1900.

Bryden, H. Anderson: *Gun and Camera in Southern Africa. A Year of Wanderings in Bechuanaland, the Kalahari Desert, and the Lake River Country, Ngamiland, with Notes on Colonisation, Natives, Natural History and Sport.* Demi octavo, 544 pages, London, 1893.

Bryden, H. A.: *Nature and Sport in South Africa.* Crown octavo, 314 pages, London, 1897.

Bryden, H. A.: *A History of South Africa from the First Settlement of the Dutch, 1652, to the Year 1903.* Crown octavo, 363 pages, Edinburgh and London, 1904.

Burleigh, Bennet: *The Natal Campaign.* Demi octavo, 418 pages, London, 1900.

Burne, Lieutenant, R.N.: *With the Naval Brigade in Natal,* 1899-1900. Demi octavo, 156 pages, London, 1902.

Burnett, Major Charles: *The 18th Hussars in South Africa.* Demi octavo, 319 pages, Winchester, 1905.

Butler, Captain H.: *South African Sketches, illustrative of the Wild Life of a Hunter on the Frontier of the Cape Colony.* A large quarto volume of 15 coloured plates and 13 pages of letterpress, London, 1841.

Butler, Sir William, G.C.B.: *From Naboth's Vineyard.* Crown octavo, 268 pages, London, 1907.

Buttery, John A.: *Why Kruger made War, or Behind the Boer Scenes. With two chapters on the Past and Future of the Rand and the Mining Industry by A. Cooper Key.* Crown octavo, 298 pages, London, 1900.

Callaway, Godfrey, Mission Priest of S. Cuthbert's: *Sketches of Kaffir Life. With Preface by the Right Rev. Alan G. S. Gibson, D.D., Coadjutor Bishop of Capetown.* Crown octavo, 154 pages, Oxford and London, 1905.

Callaway, Rev. Canon, M.D.: *The Religious System of the Amazulu.* Demi octavo, 448 pages, Pietermaritzburg and London, (in parts), 1868 to 1870.

Campbell, John Kerr, D.D., F.S.Sc., &c.: *Rambles in South Africa: the Cape, Natal, and Transvaal.* Demi octavo, 300 pages, London, 1891.

Cape of Good Hope and Natal, containing *Statistical and other Information from Government Sources.* Crown octavo, 47 pages, London, 1883.

Carlyle, Rev. J. E.: *South Africa and its Mission Fields.* Post octavo, 325 pages, London, 1878.

Carnegie, Rev. D.: *Among the Matabele.* Crown octavo, 128 pages, London, 1894.

Carnet de Campagne du Colonel De Villebois-Mareuil. Crown octavo, 315 pages, Paris, 1902.

Carrère, Jean: *En pleine Épopée.* Crown octavo, 451 pages, Paris, 1901.

Carrère, Jean: *La Guerre du Transvaal. Le Pays de l'Or Rouge.* Crown octavo, 355 pages, Paris, 1903.

Casalis, Eugene: *My Life in Basutoland, a Story of Missionary Enterprise in South Africa.* Crown octavo, 293 pages, London, 1889.

Cassell's History of the Boer War 1899-1902. Two crown quarto illustrated volumes, London, 1903.

Caunter, Major J. E.. *The Campaign in the Free State to the 13th March 1900 and its Lessons.* Demi octavo, 38 pages, London, 1901.

Cecil, Evelyn, M.P.: *On the Eve of the War: a Narrative of Impressions during a Journey in Cape Colony, the Free State, the Transvaal, Natal, and Rhodesia, September 1899 to January 1900.* Crown octavo, 147 pages, London, 1900.

Chaplains in Khaki: Methodist Soldiers in Camp, on the Field, and on the March. Crown octavo, 344 pages, London, 1900.

Chase, John Centlivres: *Natal, a Reprint of all the Authentic Notices—Descriptions—Public Acts and Documents, &c., relative to Natal, with a Narrative of Events at that Settlement.* Demi octavo, in two parts, together 445 pages, Grahamstown, 1843.

Childers, Erskine, Clerk in the House of Commons: *In the Ranks of the C.I.V., a Narrative and Diary of Personal Experiences with the C.I.V. Battery (Honourable Artillery Company) in South Africa.* Crown octavo, 301 pages, London, 1900.

Churchill, Lord Randolph S., M.P.: *Men, Mines and Animals in South Africa.* Demi octavo, 337 pages, London, 1892.

Churchill, Winston Spencer: *Ian Hamilton's March, together with Extracts from the Diary of Lieutenant H. Frankland, a Prisoner of War at Pretoria.* Crown octavo, 409 pages, London, 1900.

Churchill, Winston Spencer: *London to Ladysmith via Pretoria.* Crown octavo, 498 pages, London and New York, 1900.

Coates, Thomas F. G.: *Sir George White, V.C., the Hero of Ladysmith.* Crown octavo, 290 pages, London, 1900.

Cole, Hon. Mr. Justice: *Reminiscences of my Life and of the Cape Bench and Bar.* Crown octavo, 135 pages, Capetown, 1896.

Colenbrander, J.: *Brieven uit en over Natal, door een Nederlander.* Demi octavo, 37 pages, Doesborgh, 1856.

Colenso, Right Rev. J. W., Bishop of Natal: *Langalibalele and the Amahlubi Tribe.* Demi octavo, 357 pages, London, 1874.

Colenso, Right Rev. J. W.: *The Zulu Nation, with Extracts from the Bluebooks.* Two thick demi octavo volumes, Bishopstowe, Natal, 1884.

Colquhoun, Archibald R.: *The Renascence of South Africa.* Crown octavo, 299 pages, London, 1900.

Colville, Major-General Sir H. E.: *The Work of the Ninth Division.* Royal octavo, 247 pages, London, 1901.

Combermere, Mary Viscountess, and Captain W. W. Knollys: *Memoirs and Correspondence of Field-Marshal Viscount Combermere.* Two demi octavo volumes, London, 1866. As Colonel Cotton, Viscount Combermere was present at the surrender of the Dutch fleet in Saldanha Bay in 1796, of which event an account is given.

Combes, Paul: *Cent Ans de Lutte. Les Héros Boers.* Crown quarto, 322 pages, Paris, 1901.

Cook, Edward T.: *Rights and Wrongs of the Transvaal War.* Crown octavo, 393 pages, London, 1902.

Cook, Rev. Thomas: *My Mission Tour in South Africa.* Crown octavo, 154 pages, London, 1893.

Cooper-Chadwick, J.: *Three Years with Lobengula, and Experiences in South Africa.* Crown octavo, 160 pages, London, 1894.

Corner, William: *The Story of the 34th Company (Middlesex) Imperial Yeomanry from the Point of View of Private No. 6243.* Demi octavo, 540 pages, London, 1902.

Cox, Sir George W., Bart., M.A.: *The Life of John William Colenso, D.D., Bishop of Natal.* Two royal octavo volumes, London, 1888.

Creswicke, Louis: *South Africa and the Transvaal War.* Seven crown quarto volumes, Edinburgh, 1900-1902.

de Croze, F.: *Un Peuple Héroïque, Les Boers.* Royal octavo, 239 pages, Limoges, 1901.

Crum, Major F. M.: *With the Mounted Infantry in South Africa.* Crown octavo, 223 pages, Cambridge, 1903.

Cunliffe, F. H. E.: *The History of the Boer War to the Occupation of Bloemfontein.* Two thick illustrated crown quarto volumes, London, 1901 and 1904.

D'Anvers, N.: *Heroes of South African Discovery.* Crown octavo, 388 pages, London, 1878.

Daragon, Henri: *Le Président Kruger en France.* Crown octavo, 112 pages, Paris, 1901.

Davis, Webster: *John Bull's Crime, or Assaults on Republics.* Royal octavo, 225 pages, New York, 1901.

Davitt, Michael: *The Boer Fight for Freedom.* Demi octavo, 603 pages, New York, 1902.

Deherain, Henri: *L'Expansion des Boers au XIXe Siècle.* Crown octavo, 433 pages, Paris, 1905.

De la Rey, Mrs. (General): *A Woman's Wanderings and Trials during the Anglo-Boer War.* (Translated by Lucy Hotz.) Crown octavo, 144 pages, London, 1903.

De la Warr, Earl: *Some Reminiscences of the War in South Africa.* Crown octavo, 120 pages, London, 1900.

Dennison, Major C. J., D.S.O.: *A Fight to a Finish.* Crown octavo, 192 pages, London, 1904.

De Oorlog in Zuid-Afrika bewerkt naar Officiele Telegrammen en Particuliere Brieven. An illustrated crown quarto volume of 256 pages, Amsterdam, 1900.

Devereux, Roy: *Side Lights on South Africa.* Crown octavo, 273 pages, London, 1899.

Devereux, W. Cope, Assistant Paymaster, R.N.: *A Cruise in the Gorgon, or Eighteen Months on H.M.S. Gorgon, engaged in the Suppression of the Slave Trade on the East Coast of Africa, including a Trip up the Zambesi with Dr. Livingstone.* Crown octavo, 421 pages, London, 1869. It contains a few pages on the Cape and Natal.

Dewar, Thomas F., M.D., B.Sc.: *With the Scottish Yeomanry.* Crown octavo, 198 pages, Arbroath, 1901.

Dickie, John: *South Africa.* Crown octavo, 107 pages, Kelso, 1900.

Dickson, W. K. L.: *The Biograph in Battle.* Post octavo, 296 pages London, 1901.

Distant, W. L.: *A Naturalist in the Transvaal.* Demi octavo, 277 pages, London, 1892.

Dixie, Lady Florence: *A Defence of Zululand and its King.* Demi octavo, 129 pages, London, 1882.

Dixie, Lady Florence: *In the Land of Misfortune.* Demi octavo, 434 pages, London, 1882.

Dobbs, Major-General R. S.: *Reminiscences of Life in Mysore, South Africa, and Burmah.* Crown octavo, 228 pages, Dublin, 1882.

Donovan, Captain C. H. W.: *With Wilson in Matabeleland, or Sport and War in Zambesia.* Demi octavo, 322 pages, London, 1894.

Dooner, Mildred G.: *The Last Post, being a Roll of all Officers (Naval, Military, or Colonial) who gave their Lives for their Queen, King and Country, in the South African War, 1899-1902.* Demi octavo, 446 pages, London, 1903.

Douglas, Sir George, Bart.: *The Life of Major-General Wauchope, C.B., C.M.G., LL.D.* Demi octavo, 430 pages, London, 1904.

Doyle, A. Conan: *The Great Boer War.* Demi octavo, 554 pages, London, 1900.

Durnford, Lieutenant-Colonel E. (Editor): *A Soldier's Life and Work in South Africa, 1872 to 1879. A Memoir of the late Colonel A. W. Durnford, Royal Engineers.* Post octavo, 406 pages, London, 1882.

Dutoit, S. J.: *Rhodesia Past and Present.* Demi octavo, 218 pages, London, 1897.

Du Val, Charles: *With a Show through Southern Africa.* Two demi octavo volumes, London, 1882.

Earl of Rosslyn: *Twice Captured: a Record of Adventure during the Boer War.* Demi octavo, 477 pages, London, 1900.

Edwards, Neville: *The Transvaal in War and Peace.* A large quarto illustrated volume of 384 pages, London, 1900.

Elliott, Major W. J.: *The Victoria Cross in Zululand and South Africa. How it was won. In which is contained a History of the War of 1879, with Remarks.* Crown octavo, 268 pages, London, 1882.

Evans-Gordon, Major W., M.P.: *The Cabinet and War.* Crown octavo, 216 pages, London, 1904.

Evans, W. Sanford: *The Canadian Contingents and Canadian Imperialism.* Demi octavo, 352 pages, London, 1901.

van Everdingen, Dr. W.: *De Oorlog in Zuid-Afrika.* Crown octavo, 371 pages, Delft, 1905.

Farmer, Rev. Edward: *The Transvaal as a Mission Field.* Crown octavo, 140 pages, London, 1900.

Feilden, Eliza Whigham: *My African Home, or Bush Life in Natal when a Young Colony.* Crown octavo, 364 pages, London, 1887.

Fenn, T. E.: *How I volunteered for the Cape and what I did there.* Crown octavo, 260 pages, London, 1879.

Fenton, I. D.: *Adventures of Mrs. Colonel Somerset in Caffraria during the War.* Crown octavo, 309 pages, London, 1858. See Aylmer.

Fernyhough, Captain Thomas: *Military Memoirs of four Brothers engaged in the Service of their Country.* Demi octavo, 324 pages, London (third edition), 1838. Lieutenant Robert Fernyhough was present at the conquest of the Cape Colony in 1806, and one chapter is devoted to his journal of that event.

Ferrar, Major M. L.: *With the Green Howards in South Africa,* 1899-1902. Crown octavo, 199 pages, London, 1904.

Findlay, Frederick Roderick Noble: *Big-Game Shooting in South-East Africa, an Account of Shooting Trips in the Cheringoma and Gorongoza Divisions of Portuguese South-East Africa and in Zululand: With Chapters by Olive Schreiner and S. C. Cronwright-Schreiner.* Demi octavo, 313 pages, London, 1903.

Finlason, C. E. : *A Nobody in Mashonaland or the Trials and Adventures of a Tenderfoot.* Crown octavo, 330 pages, London, 1893.

Fisher, W. E. Garrett, M.A. : *The Transvaal and the Boers, a Short History of the South African Republic, with a Chapter on the Orange Free State.* Royal octavo, 394 pages, London, 1900.

Fitzgibbon, Maurice, B.A. : *Arts under Arms.* Crown octavo, 232 pages, London, 1901.

Foa, Edouard : *Mes Grandes Chasses dans l'Afrique Centrale.* Crown quarto, 340 pages, Paris, 1895. Relates partly to Africa south of the Zambesi.

Fournier, État-Major : *La Guerre Sud-Africaine.* Three demi octavo volumes, Paris, 1904.

Fremantle, Francis E., M.A., M.B. : *Impressions of a Doctor in Khaki.* Post octavo, 549 pages, London, 1901.

Frocard, Lieut.-Colonel, et Capitaine Painvin : *La Guerre au Transvaal.* Two crown octavo volumes, Paris, 1900 and 1901.

Garrett, Edmund, and E. J. Edwards : *The Story of an African Crisis, being the truth about the Jameson Raid, &c.* Crown octavo, 308 pages, Westminster, 1897.

Gedenkboek van den Oorlog in Zuid-Afrika. Demi quarto, 576 pages, Amsterdam, 1904.

Gibbs, Edw. J. : *England and South Africa.* Demi octavo, 151 pages, London, 1889.

Gibson, Ven. Alan G. S., M.A. : *Eight Years in Kaffraria.* Crown octavo, 178 pages, London, 1891.

Gibson, Right Rev. Alan G. S., D.D., Coadjutor Bishop of Capetown : *Reminiscences of the Pondomisi War of 1880.* Crown octavo, 124 pages, Capetown, 1900.

Gilbert, Capitaine G. : *La Guerre sud-africaine.* Demi octavo, 608 pages, Paris, 1902.

Gilbert, Sharrad H. : *Rhodesia—and After, being the Story of the 17th and 18th Battalions of Imperial Yeomanry in South Africa.* Demi octavo, 350 pages, London, 1901.

Gildea, Colonel, C.V.O., C.B. : *For King and Country, being a Record of Funds and Philanthropic Work in connection with the South African War, 1899-1902.* Imperial quarto, 198 pages, London, 1902.

Gillmore, Parker : *The Great Thirst Land : a Ride through Natal, Orange Free State, Transvaal, and Kalahari Desert.* Demi octavo, 466 pages, London, 1878.

Gillmore, Parker : *On Duty : a Ride through Hostile Africa.* Demi octavo, 380 pages, London, 1880.

Gillmore, Parker: *Through Gasa Land and the Scene of the Portuguese Aggression. The Journey of a Hunter in Search of Gold and Ivory.* Demi octavo, 349 pages, London, 1890.

Godlonton, R.: *Sketches of the Eastern Districts of the Cape of Good Hope, as they are in 1842.* Foolscap octavo, 128 pages, Grahamstown, 1842.

Goff, G. L.: *Historical Records of the 91st Highlanders from 1794 to 1881.* Demi octavo, 361 pages, London, 1891.

Goldmann, Charles Sydney: *With General French and the Cavalry in South Africa.* Demi octavo, 462 pages, London, 1902.

Goodrich, Arthur: *Our South African Empire, and how we made it.* Crown octavo, 276 pages, London, 1900.

Gordon, Lady Duff: *Last Letters from Egypt, to which are added Letters from the Cape.* Crown octavo, 346 pages, London, 1875. One hundred and fifty-five pages are devoted to the Cape.

Gray, Rev. Charles, M.A.: *Life of Robert Gray, Bishop of Capetown.* Two demi octavo volumes, London, 1876.

Green, Elsa Goodwin: *Raiders and Rebels in South Africa.* Crown octavo, 209 pages, London, 1898.

Grogan, Ewart S., and Arthur H. Sharp: *From the Cape to Cairo, the First Traverse of Africa from South to North.* Demi octavo, 402 pages, London, 1902.

Haggard, H. Rider: *The Last Boer War.* Crown octavo, 244 pages, London, 1899.

Haldane, Captain Aylmer: *How we escaped from Pretoria.* Crown octavo, 231 pages, Edinburgh and London, 1901.

Hales, A. G.: *Campaign Pictures of the War in South Africa, 1899-1900.* Crown octavo, 303 pages, London, 1900.

Hamilton, J. Angus: *The Siege of Mafeking.* Crown octavo, 332 pages, London, 1900.

Hammond, Mrs. John Hays: *A Woman's Part in a Revolution.* Crown octavo, 159 pages, London, 1897.

Harding, William: *War in South Africa and the Dark Continent from Savagery to Civilization.* Crown quarto, 550 pages, Chicago, 1901.

Hart, J. J.: *Incidents of the South African Campaign.* Foolscap octavo, 140 pages, St. John, 1901.

Heckford, Mrs.: *A Lady Trader in the Transvaal.* Post octavo, 412 pages, London, 1882.

Hellemans, Zuster: *Met het Roode Kruis mee in den Boeren Vrijheids-oorlog.* Royal octavo, 221 pages, Amsterdam, 1901.

Hensman, Howard: *Cecil Rhodes, a Study of a Career.* Demi octavo, 382 pages, Edinburgh and London, 1901.

Herbert, Sir Robert, G.C.B. (Editor): *Essays, Addresses and Translations, by Henry Howard Molyneux, fourth Earl of Carnarvon.* Three crown octavo volumes, London, 1896. The third volume contains forty-four pages on the Cape in 1888.

Heroes of the Desert. The Story of the Lives of Moffat and Livingstone. Crown octavo, 343 pages, London, 1885.

van Hesteren, J. N.: *Het Land van Kruger en Steyn, Transvaal en Oranje-Vrijstaat: de Geschiedenis der Boeren van hun Vestiging aan de Kaap de Goede Hoop tot Heden.* Crown quarto, 407 pages, Utrecht, 1901.

Hicks, Beatrice M.: *The Cape as I found it.* Crown octavo, 198 pages, London, 1900.

Hillegas, Howard C.: *Oom Paul's People: a Narrative of the British-Boer Troubles in South Africa, with a History of the Boers, the Country, and its Institutions.* Crown octavo, 308 pages, New York, 1899.

Hillegas, Howard C.: *The Boers in War: The Story of the British-Boer War of 1899-1900, as seen from the Boer Side, with a Description of the Men and Methods of the Republican Armies.* Crown octavo, 300 pages, New York, 1900.

Hillegas, Howard C.: *With the Boer Forces.* Crown octavo, 318 pages, London, 1900.

Hobhouse, Emily: *The Brunt of the War and where it fell.* Crown octavo, 356 pages, London, 1902.

Hofmeyr, N.: *Zes Maanden bij de Commando's.* Foolscap quarto, 344 pages, The Hague, 1903.

Holden, W. Clifford: *British Rule in South Africa, illustrated in the Story of Kama and his Tribe and of the War in Zululand.* Crown octavo, 218 pages, London, 1879.

Home, Lieutenant William: *With the Border Volunteers to Pretoria.* Crown octavo, 208 pages, Hawick, 1901.

van der Hoogt, C. W.: *The Story of the Boers narrated by their own Leaders, prepared under the Authority of the South African Republics.* Crown octavo, 285 pages, New York and London, 1900.

Hooker, Le Roy: *The Africanders: a Century of Dutch-English Feud in South Africa.* Crown octavo, 279 pages, Chicago and New York, 1900.

Hopkins, J. Castell, F.S.S., and Murat Halstead: *South Africa and the Boer-British War.* Two foolscap quarto volumes, Toronto, 1900 and 1902.

How Britain goes to War. Royal octavo, 256 pages, London, 1903.

Howland, Frederick Hoppin: *The Chase of De Wet.* Demi octavo, 203 pages, Providence, 1901.

Hunt, Violet Brooke: *A Woman's Memories of the War.* Crown octavo, 244 pages, London, 1901.

Hutchinson, G. T. : *From the Cape to the Zambesi.* Post octavo, 205 pages, London, 1905.

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KNOWLEDGE OF BRONZE POSSESSED BY THE BANTU.

The question has been put to me whether any Bantu in South Africa possessed the art of mixing copper and tin to form bronze, and as the question is an important one, I think it right to publish here what I know upon the subject. I never met an individual of the Bantu family who had such knowledge, nor could any one who assisted me in the inquiry in all parts of the country learn that the Bantu were ever acquainted with the art. Dr. Peringuey, director of the South African museum, informs me that no specimen of a bronze implement made by Bantu hands has ever been seen in that institution, though several, not of Bantu manufacture, have been found at Zimbabwe. Still, the evidence that some individuals knew how to produce bronze ornaments is so strong that it cannot be disputed, though it is possible that the knowledge was obtained by them from Europeans or Asiatics. In the instance mentioned by the reverend Dr. Moffat the description of the hammer and the cold chisel proves contact with some more highly civilised people. The evidence is as follows:—

In a report to the governor and council of policy at the Cape, dated the 3rd of August 1723, Jan van de Capelle, an official of the Dutch East India Company at Delagoa Bay, wrote:—

"In laatste van't jongst gepasseerde jaar aan la goa neegers sijn geweest, uijt de landschappen paraotte en machicosje die niet alleen koper, maar ook tin met haar bragten om aldaar te verruijlen; het koper was seer mooij van couleur, × ×; het tin is meede mooij van couleur dogh wat weekelijk en ligt, gelijk uijt twee stukjes van staafjes gesien kan werden; het eene is veel harder van specie, dan het andere, gelijk sulx bij omsmelting hebbe gevonden.

"Dit thin seggen sij gevonden te werden in de landstreek machicosje, aan de kanten der revier, in mandjes opgeraapt, gesuijvert van het zand, en dan door de negers tot staafjes gebragt om te verruijlen, alle de inlanders gebruijken dit thin, ook het geene zij van ons inkoopen, om onder haar kooper, tot hals en armringen, te smelten: waar door 't sonder twijffel komt, dat haare ringen, sô een glans hebben, en buijgsamer zijn dan d' Comps ringen, die daar sijn geweest."

In 1826 the reverend Robert Moffat visited the Barolong near the Molopo, and at Kongke, one of their kraals, he saw a Mohurutsi making

bronze. He says on page 466 to 468 of his *Missionary Labours and Scenes in Southern Africa:*—

"Having occasion to mend the linchpin of my wagon, I inquired for a native smith, when a respectable and rather venerable man, with one eye, was pointed out. Observing, from the cut of his hair, that he was a foreigner, and inquiring where he practised his trade, I was affected to hear him reply, 'I am a Mohurutsi, from Kurrechane.' I accompanied him to his shop, in an open yard at the back of his house. The whole of his implements consisted of two small goat-skins for bellows, some small broken pots for crucibles, a few round green stone boulders for his anvil, a hammer made of a small piece of iron about three-quarters of an inch thick, and rather more than two by three inches square, with a handle in a hole in the centre, a cold chisel, two or three other shapeless tools, and a heap of charcoal. 'I am not an iron-smith,' he said; 'I work in copper,' showing me some of his copper and brass ornaments, consisting of ear-rings, arm-rings, etc. I told him I only wanted wind and fire. He sat down between his two goat-skins, and puffed away. Instead of using his tongs, made of the bark of a tree, I went for my own. When he saw them he gazed in silent admiration; he turned them over and over; he had never seen such ingenuity, and pressed them to his chest, giving me a most expressive look, which was as intelligible as 'Will you give them to me?' My work was soon done, when he entered his hut, from which he brought a piece of flat iron, begging me to pierce it with a number of different-sized holes, for the purpose of drawing copper and brass wire. Requesting to see the old one, it was produced, accompanied by the feeling declaration, 'It is from Kurrechane.' Having examined his manner of using it, and formed a tolerable idea of the thing he wanted, I set to work; and finding his iron too soft for piercing holes through nearly an half-inch iron plate, I took the oldest of my two handsaw files to make a punch, which I had to repair many times. After much labour, and a long time spent, I succeeded in piercing about twenty holes, from the eighth of an inch to the thickness of a thread. The moment the work was completed, he grasped it, and breaking out into exclamations of surprise, bounded over the fence like an antelope, and danced about the village like a Merry-Andrew, exhibiting his treasure to every one, and asking if they ever saw anything like it. Next day I told him, that as we were brothers of one trade, (for, among the Africans, arts, though in their infancy, have their secrets too,) he must show me the whole process of melting copper, making brass, and drawing wire. The broken pot or crucible, containing a quantity of copper and a little tin, was presently fixed in the centre of a charcoal fire. He then applied his bellows till the contents were fused. He had previously prepared a heap of sand, slightly adhesive, and by thrusting a stick about two-eighths of an inch in diameter, like the ramrod of a musket, obliquely into this heap, he made holes, into

which he poured the contents of his crucible. He then fixed a round, smooth stick, about three feet high, having a split in the top, upright in the ground, when, taking out his rods of brass, he beat them out on a stone with his little hammer, till they were about the eighth of an inch square, occasionally softening them in a small flame, made by burning grass. Having reduced them all to this thickness, he laid the end of one on a stone, and rubbed it to a point with another stone, in order to introduce it through the largest hole in his iron-plate; he then opened the split in the upright stick, to hold fast the end of the wire, when he forced the plate and wire round the stick with a lever-power, frequently rubbing the wire with oil or fat. The same operation is performed each time, making the point of the wire smaller for the less hole, till it is reduced to the size wanted, which is sometimes about that of thick sewing-cotton. The wire is, of course, far inferior in colour and quality to our brass-wire. These native smiths, however, evince great dexterity in working ornaments from copper, brass, and iron."

ABSENCE OF PHALLIC WORSHIP AMONG THE BANTU.

ANOTHER question which has been put to me is whether there are any traces of phallic worship among the Bantu of South Africa. To this I can reply: none whatever, unless the occasional use of phalli as charms by individuals belonging to some of the interior tribes can be regarded in that light. Among the Basuto a childless woman procures charms which she carries about with her in hope that through their efficacy she may become a mother. These are sometimes, but not always or even commonly, phalli. I have seen the neck of a calabash formed into one, and covered with beadwork, and others that could not be mistaken, elaborately adorned. But in no case were they regarded in any other light than as charms to be employed for a particular purpose, and among the coast tribes I never heard of them even for that use.

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the same day fifteen soldiers are murdered at Debe Nek, 89; on Christmas day the military villages in the Tyumie valley are destroyed, and their male occupants are murdered, 90; the governor is at Fort Cox, which is at once besieged by a large force of Kaffirs; an attempt to relieve his Excellency by a patrol from Fort Hare fails, but on the 30th at the head of two hundred and fifty Cape mounted riflemen he makes a dash through the enemy and escapes; the Kaffir police then desert and go over to the enemy, and a destructive raid into the colony is made, 93; a large number of Hottentots join the Kaffirs, 95; and with them many Cape mounted riflemen, 96; on the 7th of January 1851 Fort Beaufort is attacked by a mixed horde under the leadership of Hermanus Matroos, but the assailants are beaten off and Hermanus is killed, 97; on the 22nd of February 1851 Fort Armstrong is recovered, but for months afterwards nothing of importance can be done to oppose the enemy, so that a second destructive raid into the colony is made, and Whittlesea is repeatedly attacked by the Tembus, though always unsuccessfully, 98; the Zulu chief Panda offers to assist the English, but his proposal is declined with thanks, 99; in December 1851 Galekaland is invaded, and much damage is done to the enemy, 99; on Christmas day the Tembus suffer a severe defeat, 100; soon afterwards Kreli invades the colony, but is beaten back by a burgher force under Captain Tylden, 103; large reinforcements of troops arrive, 104; in August 1852 Galekaland is again invaded, and Kreli is brought to desire peace, in September the Kroome and Amatola ranges are cleared of the enemy, and forts are built in such positions that the Kaffirs cannot return to these strongholds, on the 9th of October Siyolo surrenders, and his example is followed by the Tembu chiefs, 106; as well as by most of the Hottentot rebels; a settlement of the Tembus is then effected by those people being located at Glen Grey under charge of Mr. J. C. Warner; in February 1853 peace is formally concluded with Kreli, 107; and on the 9th of March with the Rarabe chiefs, who are deprived for ever of the Amatola fastnesses, 108

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* Extension of the Cape Colony: on the 17th of December 1847 it is extended by Sir Harry Smith to the Keiskama, Tyumie, Klipplaats, Zwart Kei, Klaas Smit's, and Kraai rivers on the east, and to the Orange river on the north, 52; on the 7th of March 1854 letters patent are issued annexing the Bontebok flats, 180

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* Fairbairn, John: in 1849 is secretary of the anti-convict association, 77; he is violently assaulted, and his house is wrecked, by a band of rioters, 77; on the 23rd of July 1850 he is appointed a member of the legislative council of the Cape Colony, 116; on the 20th of September resigns his seat, 118; and in October leaves for England to secure support for a particular draft constitution, 119

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* Fingos: in the war of 1846-7 take part with the Europeans against the Xosas, 9; in January 1847 about three thousand more are brought from Butterworth and located west of the Tyumie, 35; in 1848 they have large tracts of land in Victoria East given to them, 63; in January 1852 seven thousand are brought from Galekaland into British Kaffraria, 100; in 1853 they have extensive grants of land made to them, 109; particulars concerning the apprehensions of the frontier colonists in 1854 and 1855 of danger from these people, 187; further particulars concerning them, 207

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* Fort Murray: in April 1847 is rebuilt, 41; and is one of the positions at which troops are stationed after the annexation of British Kaffraria to the queen's dominions, 56

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* Hare, Lieutenant-Colonel John: in March 1846 calls upon Sandile to surrender some criminals, and as he meets with a refusal sends a military force to occupy the chief's kraal, which is the commencement of the seventh Kaffir war, 2; in July and August 1846 commands the first division of the army of operations, 18; in September 1846 leaves South Africa to return to England, but dies at sea four days after embarking, 25

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Charles Henry Darling, Esqre., acting governor, 26th May to 5th December 1854;

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* Maitland, Sir Peregrine: on the 1st of April 1846 on account of the hostile attitude of the Xosas leaves Capetown for the eastern frontier, 3; on the 1st of May assumes the chief command of the army in the field, 10; on the 22nd of that month proclaims the colony under martial law and calls out the entire burgher force, 10; on the 13th of June establishes his head-quarters at Waterloo Bay, 18; in September resolves to effect a settlement of the Kaffir territory very similar to that of Sir Benjamin D'Urban, 29; on the 6th of January

1847 at Butterworth receives a despatch from England announcing his recall, 35; on the 27th of the same month is succeeded by Sir Henry Pottinger, and on the 23rd of February sails for England, 36; on the 30th of May 1854 dies in London, 36

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* Molitsane, captain of a remnant of the Bataung tribe: during the winter of 1849 suffers very severely from an attack by the Batlokua, 294: having plundered a mission station, on the 21st of September 1850 he is attacked by Major Warden, which brings on a general war with the Basuto, 304

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* Moshesh, chief of the Basuto tribe: on the 27th of January 1848 gives his consent to an arrangement proposed by Sir Harry Smith which practically destroys the former treaty, 265; in September of the same year has a conference with Sir Harry Smith at Winburg, 284; carries on an unceasing petty warfare with the Batlokua under Sikonyela, 289; on the 1st of October 1849 very unwillingly signs a document which greatly reduces the limits of the territory to which he lays claim, 296; after this opposes the British resident and acts in such a manner that the whole of the neighbouring clans become involved in hostilities, 304; in September 1851 allies himself with the republican party in the Orange River Sovereignty, 312; after the Sand River convention consents to open

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Seventh Kaffir war: on the 16th of March 1846 a Kaffir detected in theft at Fort Beaufort is being sent as a prisoner to Grahamstown for trial, when he is rescued on Colonial ground by his friends, and a constable is killed, 1; the lieutenant-governor demands the rescued man and the murderer of the constable from the chiefs Tola, Botumane, and Sandile, all of whom decline to surrender them, 2; he then, 11th of April, sends a military force to occupy Sandile's kraal at Burnshill, 4; the force meets with resistance, loses the greater part of its stores, and is obliged to retreat to Blockdrift, 6; the Xosas now pour into the colony and lay waste the border districts, 6; nearly the whole tribe is united against the Europeans,

and is aided by the emigrant Tembus under Mapasa, 8; on the 30th of April the Kaffirs are greatly elated by the retreat of a military force sent to the Beka to attack them, 13; during the following month, however, they are driven out of the colony, 11; on the 21st of May a train of forty-three waggons laden with supplies for Fort Peddie is captured by them in the jungle of the Fish river, 13; on the 28th of May they make an unsuccessful attempt to get possession of Fort Peddie, 13; on the 1st of June much-needed supplies reach that fort, 14; on the 8th the warriors of Umhala and Siyolo sustain a crushing defeat at the Gwanga, 15; in the third week of July Pato is pursued across the Kei and some cattle are recovered from him, 18; at the end of July the Amatola fastnesses are scoured, but the Kaffirs manage to escape, 19; an expedition is then sent against Kreli, but it does nothing to chastise him, 20; though in returning it inflicts some injury upon the Tembus of Mapasa, 22; owing to the long drought and the scarcity of provisions away from the sea the bulk of the regular forces now moves to a camp at Waterloo Bay, and on the 16th of September the burghers are disbanded, 25; parties of Kaffir raiders continue to devastate the districts of Albany and Somerset and to murder unprotected people, 27; after the fall of rain in September the Gaika and Imidange chiefs, who want to plant maize and millet, express a desire for peace, 28; and on the 30th of that month a conference takes place between them and Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone, when they reject without hesitation the terms offered by the governor, 29; shortly after this the emigrant Tembus are reduced to such straits that they are unable to take part again in the war, 30; the clan of Umhala is also severely punished, 31; the Xosas now adopt a system of passive resistance, 31; in October Makoma surrenders, 32; on the 18th of November Sandile professes to agree to terms of peace, after which every Kaffir who chooses to surrender a musket or six assagais is registered as a British subject and permitted to set about cultivating the land, 33; by the beginning of December the only chiefs west of the Kei openly in arms against the colony are Pato, Kobe, and Toyise, but many followers of the others are with these, 33; towards the close of this month a strong force endeavours to surround Pato and his associates between the Gonubie and the Kei, but fails in its object, 34; on the 1st of January 1847 this force proceeds to Butterworth to attack Kreli, and succeeds in capturing a good many cattle, with which it returns to King-Williamstown, 35; on the 13th of January Sir Peregrine Maitland, believing the war to be nearly over, abolishes martial law in the colony, though Pato is still in arms, 36; in April a line of posts is formed along the western bank of the Buffalo river, 41; as soon as his crops are gathered Sandile again assumes a hostile attitude, 42; in June, owing to his conduct, an attempt is made to

arrest him, when his followers fire upon the patrol, 44; Governor Sir Henry Pottinger then sends him an ultimatum, which he treats with disdain, so on the 27th of August he is declared a rebel and forces are set in motion to subdue him, 45; on the 19th of September three strong patrols enter the Amatola fastnesses and keep constantly moving from place to place to prevent the hostile Kaffirs from settling anywhere, 47; so that on the 19th of October Sandile and Anta surrender, 48; the troops then move to the Kei to attack Kreli and Pato, 48; with the result that on the 19th of December Pato is compelled to surrender, 49; on the 23rd of December Governor Sir Harry Smith proclaims the country between the colonial boundary and the Kei a British province, 53; which, with the exception of small areas round forts and mission stations, is to be preserved for the exclusive use of Bantu, 53; on the 7th of January 1848 the Rarabe and emigrant Tembu chiefs take an oath of allegiance to the queen of England, Kreli and Buku agree to the terms offered to them, and peace is proclaimed, 57

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*Sikonyela, chief of the Batlokua tribe: carries on an unceasing petty warfare with the Basuto of Moshesh, 289; in September 1850 comes in conflict with the government of the Orange River Sovereignty, 304; but makes his peace with Major Warden, and joins his forces with those of the British resident against the Basuto, 305; in May 1852 is reduced to such extremities by Moshesh that he is com-

pelled to sue for peace, 321; in September 1853 is conquered by Moshesh and loses the whole of his territory, 344; retires to Bloemfontein and subsequently to the present district of Herschel, where in 1856 he dies in obscurity, 344

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* Siwani, great son of Dushane: in May 1846 takes part with the rest of the Xosa tribe against the Cape Colony, 8; in November surrenders, 33; on the 7th of January 1848 takes an oath of allegiance to the queen of England, and has a location assigned to him in British Kaffraria, 57; in the war of 1850-52 aids the colony, 94; in 1856 refuses to kill his cattle at the bidding of Umhlakaza, 192; further particulars concerning, 206

* Siyolo, right-hand son of Dushane: from May to November 1846 takes an active part in the war against the Cape Colony, 8; on the 7th of January 1848 takes an oath of allegiance to the queen of England, and has a tract of land assigned to him in British Kaffraria, 57; in the war of 1850-52 takes part against the colony, 94; on the 9th of October 1852 surrenders to Colonel Maclean, 106; career after 1852, 206

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* Smith, Sir Harry: in June 1840 leaves South Africa to take up the appointment of adjutant-general of the army in India, 50; on the 28th of January 1846 wins the victory of Aliwal against the Sikhs, 50; shortly afterwards returns to England, and is then appointed governor of the Cape Colony, high commissioner, and commander-in-chief of the forces, 50; on the 1st of December 1847 arrives at Capetown and takes the oaths of office, 51; eleven days later leaves for the frontier, 51; on the 17th of December issues a proclamation greatly extending the boundary of the Cape Colony, 52; on the 23rd of December proclaims the territory between the new colonial boundary and the river Kei a British province under the title of British Kaffraria, 53; on the same day receives the submission of the lately hostile chiefs, 53; on the 7th of January 1848 holds a great meeting with the Xosa and Tembu chiefs at King-Williamstown, and announces the arrangements for the government of the province, 57; in January 1848 visits the country north of the Orange river, 260; on the 25th of this month obtains the signature of Adam Kok to a document which destroys the old treaties, 263; and on the 27th induces Moshesh to attach his mark to a document of the same tendency, 264; then proceeds to Natal, and at the foot of the

Drakensberg has an interview with a body of emigrant farmers, 265; finds them abandoning that territory in the greatest distress, but makes arrangements in accordance with which many families settle there permanently, 242; on the 3rd of February from their camp proclaims the queen's sovereignty over the territory between the Orange and Vaal rivers, 267; on the 29th of March publishes a manifesto against agitators in that country, 269; on the 22nd of July learns that Major Warden has been expelled from the Orange River Sovereignty by Commandant-General Pretorius, 273; at once sends forward all the troops available, and follows to take command in person, 273; on the 26th of August musters his forces on the northern bank of the Orange, 274; on the 29th defeats the emigrant farmers at Boomplaats, 279; on the 2nd of September issues a proclamation confiscating the property of all who have been in arms against the queen's authority, 282; on the 7th at Winburg makes arrangements for the temporary government of the Sovereignty, 283; then returns to Capetown, 285; on the 14th of March 1849 proclaims regulations for the permanent government of the Orange River Sovereignty, 288; on the 31st of March 1852 is succeeded as governor and high commissioner by Sir George Cathcart, 369, having been recalled by Earl Grey on the 14th of January, 101; on the 7th of April bids the troops in Kaffraria farewell, 102; on the 17th of the same month embarks in the steam frigate *Gladiator*, and on the following morning sails for England, 102

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* Snyman, J. T.: in August 1848 assists the British forces under Sir Harry Smith against the emigrant farmers under Commandant-General Pretorius, 275; in September of this year is appointed a member of the war tribute commission, 284; and in June 1849 becomes a member of the legislative council of the Orange River Sovereignty, 289

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* Somerset, Lieutenant-Colonel Henry: in April 1846 is sent with a military force to occupy Sandile's kraal at Burnshill, 5; but loses the greater part of his waggon train and is obliged to retreat, 6; in May with the Cape corps drives the Kaffirs out of the colony, 11; on the 1st of June succeeds in provisioning Fort Peddie, 14; on the 8th of June at the Gwanga inflicts a very severe blow upon the clans of Umhala and Siyolo, 15; in July and August commands the second division of the army of operations, 18; in September scours the country between the Keiskama and Gonubie rivers, 31; on the 7th of January 1847 is left by Sir Peregrine Maitland in command of all the forces in the field, 35; upon the arrival of Sir George Berkeley transfers the chief command to him, but serves with dis-

tinction till the close of the war of the axe; on the 29th of December 1850 fails in an attempt to relieve Fort Cox, 93; on the 22nd of February 1851 recovers Fort Armstrong from the rebels, 98; (major-general) in December 1851 commands one of the columns that invade Galekaland, 100; commands a column directed to scour the Kroome mountains, 104; in September 1852 carries out this duty, 106

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* Stockenstrom, Sir Andries: on the 2nd of May 1846 is appointed commandant-general of the burgher forces of the eastern districts, 10; in July and August when clearing the Amatola fastnesses behaves with great energy and courage, 19; in the middle of August commands a division of the force sent against Kreli, 20; on the 21st of August has a conference with Kreli and makes provisional

terms of peace, 21; which Sir Peregrine Maitland refuses to ratify, 25; after the return of the expedition quarrels with several military officers, 23; on the 25th of November tenders his resignation, which the governor immediately accepts, 24; on the 23rd of July 1850 is appointed a member of the legislative council of the Cape Colony, 116; on the 20th of September resigns his seat, 118; in March 1851 leaves for England to secure support for a particular draft constitution, 119; note on a book written by, 411; note on the autobiography of, 418

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*Stokwe, Xosa chief: on the 1st of April 1846 succeeds his father as head of the Amambala clan, 7; six weeks later takes part in an invasion of the Cape Colony, 8; on the 21st of August 1846 surrenders to Colonel Somerset, 28; on the 7th of January 1848 takes an oath of allegiance to the queen of England, and has a location assigned to him in British Kaffraria, 57; in the war of 1850-52 takes part against the Cape Colony, 94; on the 9th of March 1853 agrees to the terms of peace imposed upon him, 108; takes a leading part in the self-destruction of the Xosa tribe, 191; after 1857 sinks into insignificance, 205

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* Tola, Imidange captain: on the 16th of March 1846 causes one of his followers to be released by force when a prisoner in the colony, 1; declines to surrender the rescued man when called upon to do so, 2; from April to November 1846 carries on war with the Cape Colony, 8; on the 7th of January 1848 takes an oath of allegiance to the queen of England, and has ground assigned to him in British Kaffraria, 57; in the war of 1850-52 takes part against the colony, 94; on the 9th of March 1853 agrees to the terms of peace imposed upon him, 108
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* Umtirara, Tembu chief: in 1838 goes to live on the Zwart Kei, b... driven from his own country by the Pondos and Bacas, ... 1846-7 professes to be neutral in the war between the X... the Cape Colony, 8; is only paramount chief in name, as ... grant Tembu clans are quite independent of his authority ... feud with Kreli, which prevents their union against the Ca... 9; sends to the governor to request that he may be declar... subject, and the land from the colonial border to th... declared British territory, 29; his conduct, however, ... colonists is exceedingly suspicious; in August 1846 nea... of his people are driven over the Indwe by the tribes ... is at enmity, 30; on the 3rd of December he has a... Sir Peregrine Maitland at Blockdrift, and renew... British protection, which the governor recommend... of state, 30; in January 1848 is promised protec... Smith if he chooses to live west of the Indwe, 59...

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on 31 October, 2019